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OUTLINES OF HEBREW GRAMMAR.



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OUTLINES

OF

HEBREW GRAMMAR

BY

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REVISED BY THE AUTHOR, AND ANNOTATED BY THE TRANSLATOR

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WITH A LITHOGRAPHIC TABLE OF SEMITIC CHARACTERS

BY DR. J. EUTING.



181728
3.7.23.

LEIPZIG:

F. A. BROCKHAUS.

1877.

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TO
PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.,
PROFESSOR IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK,
THIS TRANSLATION IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS little work does not appear as a rival of the excellent grammars of Green and Davidson. It is rather designed for students in comparative philology, and for those who have already made some progress in Hebrew.

Although so modest in size that it may be mistaken for an elementary treatise, it should perhaps rather be considered as the most scientific discussion of the Hebrew language which has yet been produced.

While it was suggested by Justus Olshausen's "Lehrbuch", it is not an epitome of that work, but a really independent production.

Starting with the hypothesis that the Hebrew is not the most ancient member of the Semitic family of languages, the author has derived all the Hebrew forms by means of comparative analysis, from a more ancient Semitic language, which is best represented by the Arabic.

Although a competent critic may differ from the author in some of his conclusions, he will still recognize the hand of a master, and will acknowledge that

the student may obtain a clearer conception of the Hebrew forms, by the diligent study of this book.

The English edition is perhaps superior to the German in the following particulars. 1) The author has thoroughly revised and improved the original text. 2) The paragraphs on the prose and metrical accents have been added by Prof. FRANZ DELITZSCH at the request of Prof. BICKELL. 3) A large table of Semitic characters, of which the Egyptian letters were furnished by Prof. EBERS, has been prepared by Dr. EUTING of Strassburg, an eminent authority in this department.

The notes which are marked with a star, the table of contents, and the indexes, which were lacking in the German edition, have been added by the translator.

In closing, the translator tenders his best thanks to Prof. BICKELL for his lively interest in the work, and to Prof. DELITZSCH for many valuable suggestions.

LEIPZIG, *January* 1877.

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I.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

1. HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

§. 1. *The Semitic family of languages*, which is thus named because all the descendants of Shem originally belonged to it, may be divided into three main branches: 1) *Arabic* together with Himyaric and Ethiopic; 2) *Aramaic*, which is indigenous to Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylon, including Syriac, Mandaic, Chaldee and Samaritan; 3) *Hebrew* with Phoenician or Canaanitic. The position of the unquestionably Semitic Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the so-called half Semitic in Africa has not yet been definitely determined. All the Semitic languages are now dead except the Arabic, the Amharic and the Tigré, which are cognate with the old Ethiopic, Geez. and the remnants of the modern Syriac dialects in Kurdistan and the Anti-Lebanon.

v l v

§. 2. The specific character of the present form of the Semitic family of languages consists in the disyllabic nature of the roots, their apparently merely ideal and vowelless existence, and in the expression of

different shades of thought through internal inflection, that is through a change of the radical vowels, or the doubling of the radical consonants. This internal inflection however is merely apparent. Since it is a secondary, mechanical phenomenon which has arisen through vocal laws. Hence in itself it has nothing to do with the modification of the idea.¹ The dissyllabic roots arose from the original monosyllable in a pre-historic age, before there was any sharp discrimination between the noun and the verb, through reduplication, addition of suffixes, insertion of vowels and in other ways. This is indicated by the pronominal roots; the conjugation *pilpel*, e. g. **כִּלְכֵּל** *kilkél*, which was originally *kalkala* from the root **כ.ו.ל**; and through the kindred signification of many roots which have two consonants in common.

§. 3. It follows from the preceding paragraph, that in the manner of formation², there was originally

¹ The seeming arguments for an internal inflection are very much weakened when we compare the Hebrew with the Arabic forms, e. g. **קָטַל** *qāṭúl*, **קִיטְלֵל** *qitlél*, **הִקְטִיל** *hiqtíl*, Arabic *qatala*, *qattala*, *'aqtala*. Another class is shown even by parallel Hebrew forms to be a later formation, e. g. the participle **קִיטְלֵל** *qôṭél*, from *qāṭil* in the intransitive verbs and the mediae **י**, has the same form as the third sing. masc. of the perfect, compare **מָלַךְ** *mālē'*, from *mali'*, **קָמַם** *qám* from *qavam*. The doubling of the consonant is either merely euphonic or has arisen from the original reduplication of the root. Several vowel changes indeed (e. g. in the passive) have not yet been explained, but judging from the analogy of the apparently internally inflected German, in which all the variations of the root can be mechanically explained, this is due to our unfamiliarity with the old Semitic forms.

² Essentially the same principles underly the formation of all the different languages. Isolation, agglutination and inflection

no difference between the Semitic and the other families of languages, and that nothing prevents the assumption of a common origin. Moreover a nearer relationship of the Semitic with the Indo-Germanic and Egyptian is unmistakable, although the laws for the substitutions of sounds do not yet seem to be established with absolute certainty.¹

§. 4. Although the Hebrew has a more ancient literature than any of the Semitic family, yet other members of that family have preserved a more antique form. A large proportion of the dentals, which have all been retained in Aramaic, has been in Arabic partially, and in Hebrew as well as in Ethiopic and Assyrian entirely, changed to sibilants so that the Aramaic *d* (ד), *t* (ט), *t* (צ) frequently correspond to the Arabic

do not exclude each other but are rather to be considered as successive stages in the development of language. Originally there were only monosyllabic roots (*isolation*), which at first were human echoes of an audible action, and with which were connected other sensuous significations by *enallage sensuum* and supersensuous ones by analogy. Some roots gradually became affixes (*agglutination*) through connection with others under a common accent. Then through the purely mechanical interaction of the roots and affixes upon each other, and other vocal laws, which were generally connected with the accentuation, an apparent change of the root itself arose (*internal inflection*). *Inflection is simply the joining together of roots, hence the symbolism of sound only obtains in the formation of roots, but never in the inflection.* The same principles explain other supposed Semitic peculiarities, e. g. the occurrence of pronominal suffixes (which are also found in the Indo-Germanic Persian), and prefixes (just as *ego sum* and *sum ego* are one and the same).

¹ *For the reciprocal relation of the Indo-Germanic and Semitic family see Friedrich Delitzsch's "Studien über Indogermanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandschaft", Leipzig 1873.

dz (דז), *ts* (צ), *tʃ* (צ), Hebrew *z* (ז), *š* (שׁ), *ʃ* (שׂ). The short vowels in Hebrew are commonly heightened in the accented syllable, and in the first open syllable preceding the accent, while on the contrary they vanish from the second open syllable preceding the accent leaving only a *shēva* behind them. The vowel consonant *v* is very frequently transformed to *y* without the influence of an *i*. The short vowels are often rejected at the end of a word, hence the insertion of an auxiliary vowel is often occasioned. The earlier wealth of forms has, in consequence of the falling away of the final vowels, and the disappearance of many varieties of inflection, only partially maintained its place. In all these respects, especially in its vocalization, the Arabic is the more ancient language, since it is determined by only a few vocal laws, especially those which concern the vowel consonants, almost all of which existed already in the primitive Semitic.

§. 5. With reference to dialectical differences only this is certain that the Ephraimites pronounced *š* (שׁ) like *s* (ס) Jud. xii, 6. Böttcher's¹ discovery of three provincial dialects *Ephraimitic*, *Judaic* and *Simconitic* in the text of the Old Testament is not satisfactorily established. — On the other hand the poetry is distinguished from the prose of the Scriptures as follows; 1) through the rhythmical parallelism of the two members of each verse, 2) partially through the union of verses into strophes, 3) linguistically through the use of peculiar designations, especially *epitheta ornantia* e. g. בְּנֵי־יִצְחָק *bēnē šah(a)ʃ*, *sons of pride*, is equivalent to *beasts of prey*, Job. xxviii, 8; xli, 26, 4) through fuller

¹ *"Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache", Leipzig 1866, I, §. 28—37.

unapocopated or uncontracted forms. Compare אֵל 'el, אֵל 'al, poetic אֵלֵי 'élē', אֵלֵי 'älē', from the earlier אֵלַי, 'alay, further the suffixes of the 3. plural masc. in בָּנָו, mō, instead of בָּנָם, -m, etc.

§. 6. The language of the oldest Mosaic period i. e. in the Pentateuch, when compared with that of a later age, exhibits lexical as well as grammatical archaisms. The use of the masculine form הוּא hu' instead of the feminine הִיא hi' is especially noticeable. The former is employed in the Pentateuch one hundred and ninety five times, while the latter occurs only eleven times. In the same way the masculine form נָעַר na'(a)r is used instead of the feminine נָעָרָה na'(ä)rā with only one exception, Deut. xxii, 19. The pronouns הַלְלוּהָ hallāzū instead of the later form הַלְלוּ hallūz, and the apocopated form הָאֵל hu'él for הַלְלוּהָ hā'ellū occur only in the Pentateuch. There are masculine infinitives from *tertia* *vav* and *yodh* roots, as אָסֹף 'āsō', Gen. i, 20, אָסֹף רָאָה rā'ō', Gen. xlviii, 11, instead of אָסֹף רָאָה rā'ō' rā'ō'; regular strong forms נָתַתְּ nōt for תִּת titt, נָתַתְּ nōtint, Numb. xx, 21; Gen. xxxviii, 9, *fuller endings* e. g. אֵן for אֵ in the plural of the perfect, Deut. viii, 3, 16, and in the imperfect where it occurs one hundred and five times¹; *harder sounds* e. g. אָהָל āhāq which occurs twelve times in the Pentateuch and only once elsewhere instead of the later softer form אָהָל āhāq; *defective modes of writing*, e. g. מ for im,

¹ * Compare Ewald, "Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache" (Göttingen 1870), §. 502b. Although this form of the imperfect is not confined to the Pentateuch, yet it is especially frequent there. See Keil, "Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments" Frankfurt a. M. 1873, p. 44.

ה for *ôth*, in the imperfect ה for *nû*¹, provided this is not to be explained as a remnant of an old kind of Aramaic formation; unusual formations of stems, e. g. יָקַם *yǔqûm*, Gen. vii, 4, 23; and forms which subsequently are only used in poetry e. g. the case-endings *ô*, as הָיָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *hayǔô-â'ar(e)ç* Gen. i, 24, and יוֹם יָמֵינוּ *yǔm Gen. xxxi, 39*, compare §. 87—88; the suffix of the third masc. sing. הָיָה *ê-hû*, לְמִינֵהוּ *lǔmînehû* Gen. i, 12, which is another form for *ô* etc.

§. 7. The golden age of Hebrew literature was during the period of David and Solomon after the middle of the eleventh, and of Isaiah during the eighth century. The decline of the Hebrew language begins after the age of Jeremiah and is characterized as follows. 1) The orthographical system is changed. The *scriptio plena* is more frequently employed with merely heightened vowels, and a phonetic rather than an etymologic manner of writing is used. 2) Later unorganic forms appear e. g. the suffixes of the 2. fem. plur. הָנָה *-khâna* Ez. xiii, 20; xxiii, 48 ff.; of the 3. fem. plur. הָנָה *hâna* Ez. i, 11, compare §. 42 and הָנָה *â-hǔnû* 1 K. vii, 37. 3) There is a strong infusion of Aramaisms, which were hitherto confined almost exclusively to the poetical style, e. g. compare a) Chaldee forms of the infinitive as מַדְדִּי *muddî* for דָּדָה *dâ'(a)ç*, 2 Chron. i, 10, בַּקָּשָׁה *baqqâšâ* for בַּקָּשׁ *baqqêš* Esther v, 8; הַצָּלָה *haççâlâ* for הַצִּיל *haççîl* Esth. iv, 14; b) pronouns and suffixes of the second fem. sing. of which the final sound is *î* e. g. אַתִּי *'aty* for אַתְּ *'at* Jerem. xi, 15, יְיָ *çî* for

¹ *Compare Gesenius, "Hebräische Grammatik" (herausgegeben von C. Rödiger, Leipzig 1872), §. 104, 3, where it is remarked, that in the *Pentateuch* simply הָ נû often stands for הָ נû especially after *var consecutivum* e. g. Ex. i, 18, 19; vx, 20.

תָּ-עַל; e) suffixes of the third masc. sing. to the plural תָּ-לִי instead of תָּ-לֵי Ps. cxvi, 12; d) Ethpael for the Hithpael 2 Chron. xx, 35; e) plurals in *în* instead of *îm*; f) many abstract substantive formations etc.

§. 8. The extinction of the Hebrew and the substitution of the Chaldee in its place is due to the Babylonian captivity. This is confirmed by the use of the Chaldee in Daniel¹, and the original author who according to Esra v, 4 lived at the end of the sixth century, by the Aramaic composition of the Persian edicts to the Jews, and by Nehem. viii, 8; compare Megilla² 3^a and Nedarim³ 37^b. The fact that the writers after the captivity use better Hebrew than those who wrote shortly before it, or during the exile proves that they were writing in a dead language and sought to adapt themselves to classical models. — *The new Hebrew* of the Mishna, the Midrashim, and the rabbinical literature is merely a later artificial development.

§. 9. The grammatical treatment of the Hebrew dates from the tenth century. It began with the rabbinical and Karaitic Jews in the Orient and in Spain, with Saadya († 942), Abul-Walid († about 1030), Aben Ezra († 1167); more particularly however in the rest of Europe after the beginning of the twelfth century, with Joseph, Moses and David Kimchi, who flourished about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Elias Levita († 1549). The study of Hebrew was introduced among the Christians after the thirteenth century, Raimundus

¹ *Chapters ii, 4—vii of Daniel and iv, 8—vi, 18 of Esra are written in Chaldec.

² *The treatise in the Talmud which bears this name treats of the Purim festival and the reading of the book of Esther.

³ *Nedarim considers the different kind of vows and their obligatory force.

Martini († after 1286), Nicolaus Lyranus († 1340), Perez di Valencia († 1491). The first grammars were by Anton de Lebrija († 1544) and by John Reuchlin († 1522). The science of the Hebrew language in the sixteenth century was entirely dependent upon rabbinical instruction. In the seventeenth century although it was pursued with erudition it was unfruitful. Every interest was made subservient to the punctuation, the primitive existence and absolute correctness of which was demanded in the interest of the sufficiency and perspicuity of the Bible (John Buxtorf, senior). It was customary to explain the linguistic phenomena through as unhistorical a system as that of the *tres morae*¹ (Alting † 1697, Danz † 1727). About the beginning of the eighteenth century Alb. Schultens († 1750) through the comparative study of the Arabic paved the way for a better method. Towards the end of the same century such grammarians as Vater († 1826) and Jahn († 1816) sought to emancipate themselves from the rabbinical tradition and to pursue the grammar with more simplicity and taste. Against this tendency to arbitrariness and a contempt for detailed examinations, Gesenius († 1842) established the empirical facts of the language, and involuntarily became an apologist for the Jewish tradition. Ewald († 1875) indicated the higher ends of a scientific treatment of the language, but Justus Ols-haus n first succeeded by the consistent use of the historico-critical and comparative method in tracing back the linguistic phenomena to their origin. Böttcher's († 1863) great work² is valuable as a collection of materials but in other respects it is a step backwards.

¹ *See Gesenius, "Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache", 123.

² *"Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben und mit ausführlichen Registern versehen von J. Mühlau", 2 Bde., Leipzig 1866—68.

2. HISTORY OF WRITING.

§. 10. The Semitic characters were not invented¹ by the Phœnicians, but arose from the Hieratic forms of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, from which all the written phonetic systems have arisen through the medium of the Semitic letters with the exception of the Japanese syllabic signs, and the cuneiform characters² (Lenormant³, Lauth⁴). Others admit only an indirect derivation. They hold that the Shemites transferred the acrophonic⁵ principle of the hieroglyphics to their own language, but a comparison of the letters

¹ The art of writing was never invented at all, but has constantly arisen from the drawings of objects, which have gradually become the designation of the sound with which the language indicated the object, and finally that of the initial element of this sound. The picture of a mouth at first represented hieroglyphically the notion *mouth*, then the sound *ro*, which in Egyptian is equivalent to *mouth*, and finally the letter *r*. The Mexican and essentially also the Chinese system of writing are based entirely upon the ideographic principle. The cuneiform art of writing, which was transferred by a Turanian people to the Assyrians and the Persians, and the Egyptian hieroglyphics associate the ideographic with the phonetic principle, yet in such a way that the latter always predominates.

² * See Mr. Joachim Menant, "Le Syllabaire Assyrien. Exposé des éléments du système phonétique de l'écriture anarienne" (Première partie, Paris 1860. Seconde partie, 1873).

³ See his "Introduction à un mémoire sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien" Paris 1866.

⁴ See the "Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" (1867), S. 84—124.

⁵ * That is the designation of the letter through the picture of an object beginning with the same sound as the letter was to represent, compare the origin of *b* in the table.

in the table indicates that they have been directly borrowed.

§. 11. Originally all the members of the Semitic family used the old so-called Phœnician system of writing¹, which was employed before the sixth century in Nineveh and Babylon together with the cuneiform characters. Since that time the Aramaic letters have been formed in a peculiar manner, especially through the opening of the heads of כ, ד, ז, ט, e. g. upon the talent of Abydos², which represents the figure of a lion. This appears more plainly upon the coins and seals of the Persian satraps of anterior Asia, and still more evidently in the Aramaic inscriptions and papyrus from Egypt. At a later period the shaft, in several letters, is bent towards the left in order to render a connection possible with what follows. Thus during the last centuries before Christ several peculiar kinds of writing were gradually developed, of which the *Palmyrenian* as the nearest source of the Hebrew square characters possesses the greatest interest for us.

§. 12. Among the Jews there are two different kinds of writing. The older which is still found upon cut³ stones and the coins of the Machabees (even upon those of Bar-Cochba⁴ A. D. 132) is an antique Phœ-

¹ *By far the oldest example of this kind of writing would be the inscription of the Moabite king, Mesa, which dates from the beginning of the ninth century before Christ. Doubts have however been recently raised in regard to its genuineness.

² *See de Vogué, "Mélanges d'archéologie Orientale", Paris 1868, p. 179.

³ The Israelitic seals, found at Nineveh, must be older than the captivity, comp. Levy, "Siegel und Gemmen", Breslau 1869.

⁴ *See Madden's "History of Jewish coinage", London 1862, p. 203 ff.

nician and essentially identical with the Samaritan. The present so-called square characters occur after 176 B. C. upon several inscriptions of the second and first centuries, which have been discovered by De Vogué.¹ They have evidently arisen from the Palmyrenian, and are the result not of a gradual change in the characters (Kopp², Hupfeld³), but of an interchange of the old (Phoenician) with the new Aramaic (especially Palmyrenian), which at the latest has taken place since the second century before Christ. For some time both systems were in use side by side until at last the older was entirely forgotten. There is now no need of refuting the opinion that the *quadrata* has been the sacred character of the Hebrews from the beginning. At the same time its derivation from the Babylonian (Talmud⁴ Origen⁵, Jerome⁶, Bleek⁷) is rendered impossible by reason of its near relationship to the Palmyrenian characters. The ligatures which were customary in the older quadrate writing have been relinquished, on the other hand the upper blocks upon the letters א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת (אבגדהוזחטיתכלמנפעצקרשת) have been introduced.

§. 13. We transcribe the Hebrew consonants as

¹ See the "Revue archéologique" (1864), IX, 200.

² *See Kopp's († 1834) "Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit", II, 51 ff. and 87 ff.

³ *Herman Hupfeld († 1866) in the "Studien und Kritiken" (1830), S. 256 ff. and in his "Ausführliche hebräische Grammatik" Marburg 1841, I, 39.

⁴ *Bab. Sanhedrin 21^b. Jer. Megilla I. Halacha 9.

⁵ *Origenis Hexapla, I, 86 ed. Montf.

⁶ *In the beginning of his Prologus Galeatus.

⁷ *See his Einleitung.

follows: א ¹; ב *b*, β¹; ג *g*, γ; ד *d*, δ; ה *h*; ו *v*; ז *z*; ח *h*; ט *t*; י *y*²; כ *k*, χ; ל *l*; מ *m*; נ *n*; ס *s*; ע ¹; פ *p*, φ; צ *ç*; ק *q*; ר *r*; ש *š*, š; ת *t*, ט. A diacritical point discriminates ש *š* from ש *š*. While the aspirated pronunciation of the בגד כפה is indicated only exceptionally by Raphe (ב) the unaspirated pronunciation is shown by an internal point in the letters (*Dāgeš lene*). A final ה is only a sign for a final vowel, and is therefore to be omitted in the transcription unless its character as a consonant is fixed by an internal point (*Mappik*). The reduplication is also indicated by an internal point (*Dāgeš forte*). The letters כ פ נ נ פ צ have a special form at the end of a word ק ך ם ן ף ץ (partially in the old square Palmyrenian and Hauranian writing). The letters כ ה ל ה א can be widened at the end of a line so as to avoid the division of words. — The letters also serve as numerals, e. g. א—ט = 1—9, י—צ = 10—90, ק—ה = 100—400, ך ם ן ף ץ = 500—900, א again = 1000 etc., the combinations יה, יי are avoided out of reverence for the name יהוה and יו, יז are used instead.

§. 14. The Semitic writing still retains its original syllabic character in this respect that it is vowelless. This principle which was strictly maintained in the Phœnician was at an early period so far modified in Hebrew that ו become the substitute for *û* (and *ô* which was originally *av* or *à*), and י *f* for *î* (and *é*, *ü* which have arisen from *ay*). This is called *scriptio plena*. The vowel *â* was only indicated at the end of a word by ה, which could also indicate the other long and

¹ *The aspirated pronunciation of the בגד כפה is represented by the Greek letters β, γ, δ, χ, φ, ט.

² *At the end of a syllable Yôδ should be pronounced like final *j* in German, הַי *haj*, גֹּי *gôj* are not diphthongs.

heightened¹ vowels (e. g. אֲ, אָ, אִ) except *î* and *û*. Thus the short vowels were entirely unindicated, the long vowels were in many cases undetermined, and even the value of the vowels themselves was doubtful, since the vowel letters were at the same time consonants. Therefore after the dying out of the language an urgent necessity impelled to a system of punctuation which was gradually developed.

§. 15. The development of the punctuation has probably passed through the following stages. 1) Originally a *diacritic sign* designated the more unusual, less simple form (Samaritan diacritic line). 2) Another sign came into use which expressed the opposite of the former. Thus in Syriac the point beneath the letter indicated the simple monosyllabic form of the verb, e. g. *pē'al*, and that of monosyllabic nouns like *dîn*, *sę̇φar*; on the other hand that above the letter, the less simple, unexpected, generally dissyllabic form either with or without the reduplication of the second radical, e. g. *pū'el*, *pū'el*, and nouns with the reduplication of the second radical, as *dayyân*. In this way the older sign by an easy transition came to indicate a vowel (especially *a*), the reduplication, or the non-aspiration, while the later sign indicated successively a *Šę̇rā* and then the vowel *i* as the opposite of *a* or the aspirated pronunciation; but *u* was most frequently indicated by the vowel consonant. *The simpler basis*, which preceded the Palestinean and Babylonian system of punctuation must have been of the same sort, comp.

§. 16. Both possess only two signs in common *Dāreš* and *Rāqē* (or *Iġāveφ*, which also serves as *Šę̇rā*). The former corresponds to the Syriac point above the letter (*Kushâi*) and Arabic *a*, the latter to the one beneath

¹ * Comp. §§. 39, 42.

it (*Rukkâch*) and the Arabic *i*. 3) The two (or with *u* three) fundamental vowels were divided through repeated distinctions into their different shades of sound. This is still evident in Syriac, where at a later period the two simple points were increased through the introduction of double points to eight; it is not so evident however in Hebrew by reason of our unfamiliarity with the history of the punctuation.

§. 16. Since neither Jerome nor the Talmud evince any knowledge of the punctuation, the assumption of its originality is an error, which requires no refutation. Still the development of the vowel signs must have begun soon after the close of the Talmud.¹ Our present and only current punctuation conforms to the Tiberian or Palestinian system. Besides this there was a Babylonian, or Assyrian system, which was discovered in 1839, in the Crimea, in a manuscript which dates from the year 916.² It has only six vowels, Dāyeš and Rāḩe (*Ĥätēḩ*). In an unaccented closed syllable the Rāḩe is placed underneath, in an unaccented acute syllable³ over the vowel, on account of which the Mēḩey becomes superfluous (§. 18). Instead of Paḩah with Ĥätēḩ written underneath Çere is employed according to the Arabic pronunciation. All the signs stand over the consonants.⁴

¹ *According to Emanuel Deutsch the so-called Jerusalem Gemara was redacted at Tiberias about 390 A. D. and the Babylonian at Sora 365—427 A. D. The codex of the latter however was not closed until the end of the fifth century A. D. See his *Literary Remains*, London 1874, p. 40.

² *Dr. Hermann Strack of Berlin edited a facsimile of this entire manuscript, Petropoli 1875.

³ An acute syllable is one which ends in a doubled consonant.

⁴ *S. Pinsker, "Einleitung in das babylonisch-hebräische Punktationssystem", Wien 1863. See also the back of the last leaf of Strack's "Hosca et Joel".

§. 17. Our vowel system may be transcribed as follows: $\overline{\text{á}}$, $\overline{\text{ā}}$; a ; $\overline{\text{é}}$; $\overline{\text{ē}}$; $\overline{\text{â}}$; $\overline{\text{e}}$, $\overline{\text{ā}}$; $\overline{\text{î}}$; i ; ó ; $\overline{\text{ō}}$; $\overline{\text{o}}$; $\overline{\text{ú}}$; $\overline{\text{u}}$. The vowels which are undesignated are short. Those above which a short dash is written are heightened and those written with a circumflex are originally long. $\check{\text{švā}}$ $\overline{\text{}}$ is used either to indicate a vowelless letter ($\check{\text{švā}}$ *quiescens*) or a half vowel $\check{\text{š}}$ ($\check{\text{švā}}$ *mobile*); the latter appears in compounds as $\check{\text{Hāṭē}}$ $\overline{\text{}}$ paṣah $\overline{\text{}}$ $\check{\text{á}}$, $\check{\text{Hāṭē}}$ $\overline{\text{}}$ sēyól $\overline{\text{}}$ $\check{\text{ē}}$, $\check{\text{Hāṭē}}$ $\overline{\text{}}$ qāmeš $\overline{\text{}}$ $\check{\text{ō}}$. All the vowels are placed underneath except $\check{\text{Šureq}}$, which stands in its consonant, and $\check{\text{Hōlem}}$ which stands above and behind the consonant to which it belongs. The concurrence of $\check{\text{Hōlem}}$ with the point of w is indicated by only one point. A Paṣah which stands under a final consonant (Paṣah *furtivum*) is pronounced before it. We indicate it, as in general all assistant vowels, which first entered the Hebrew in order to facilitate the pronunciation, by brackets.

§. 18. The accentuation¹ stands in the closest connection with the vocalization. Even the Talmud demands a discriminating² reading, and a melodious delivery.³ The accentuation serves this double purpose, and appears in the post-talmudic age at the same time with the vocalization. The accents are 1) *musical notes*, which indicate how each word is to be sung. They dispose the verse as a rhythmical whole, according to aesthetic laws, especially of equilibrium. They are 2) *signs of interpunctuation*, which separate or unite the

¹ *The §. 18—20 have been furnished by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, at the request of Prof. Bickell.

² Megilla 3^a.

³ Megilla 32^a.

words according to their sense. They arrange the verse as a thought in the form of a clause according to logical and grammatical laws. Their predominant function is musical. Yet no reliable tradition has been retained regarding their musical value. The cantillation of the Thora and the Haftaroht, i. e. the prophetic pericopes varies, in the German and Spanish rites. Concerning the punctuation of Job, Proverbs and Psalms we have no complete account. The old grammarians furnish only fragmentary notices respecting the way in which some of the accents should be sung. Besides the interest of the grammarian is fixed upon the accents as marking the tone-syllable of single words, and the relation of the words to each other in the articulation of the sentence. In the former respect the accentuation is of great importance for the elementary and formal part of the grammar, in the latter for its syntactical part, since the accents indicate e. g. the genitive relation of the words and the elliptical relative sentences. It is however of far greater importance for the exegesis e. g. Lev. ix, 19, where the halving of the verse determines what portion of the bullock is to be brought and what portion of the ram; and Judges v, 18, where the name Naphtali, with questionable propriety, is connected with the first member of the verse. But the most important function of the accents for the grammar is as indicators of the tone-syllable of words. They shew us that the primary accent of the word commonly rests upon the final syllable, but not monotonously, for omitting the fact that in words of more than one syllable a secondary accent or *deep tone*, which is indicated by $M\bar{\omega}z\epsilon\gamma$, is wont to precede the primary accent or *high tone*, there are many cases in which the primary accent rests upon the penultima, since the following are unaccented: 1) final

syllables whose vowel is only an auxiliary e. g. כָּפָר *sēḥ(e)r*, *liber*, יֵצֵא *yíḡ(e)l* *emigrabit*; 2) the old accusative ending *ā* of the noun e. g. לַיְלָא *láyḷā noctu*, and the cohortative *ā* in future and imperative, but only, when a long vowel precedes, e. g. בִּינָה *bí'nā*, נִשְׁלִיכָה *naš-lí'ḡā*; 3) all the personal suffixes, except *-kém*, *-kén*, *-hém*, *-hén*, *-í'*, *-ó'* (because it is contracted out of *á-hú*) and *-kú*; this last suffix however remains unaccented after a long vowel, in pausa and in the energetic future; 4) the final syllables of several verbal forms, viz. the 1. sing., 1. plur. and 2. sing. masc. of the perfect, the 2. and 3. fem. plur. of the imperat. and future; 5) the final syllables of certain other forms (viz. 3. fem. sing. and 3. plur. in the perfect, 2. fem. sing. and 2. masc. plur. in the imperative, 2. fem. sing. and 2. and 3. masc. plur. in the future) of the verbs *mediae geminatae* and of the verbs *mediae r, y*, as well as in the *hiḥîl* in the regular verb; 6) the final syllable of the historical mode, *modus consecutivus*, in which the tone frequently falls back upon the penultima. Moreover the accentuation shows that this retrogression occurs not unfrequently in other cases according to strictly rhythmical laws, e. g. when a word with the primary accent upon its first syllable immediately follows a word with the accent upon the last as אָשָׁא לֹ' *'áṣā lô'* Gen. ix, 24, וְהִיָּיָם לִי *vihēyí' Sem lí'* Ex. xix, 5, but not when the first word ends in a closed syllable with *ó*, *ú* or *í*. This legal retrogression of the tone contributes very much to heighten the euphony of the language through the diversification of the rhythm. Our grammarians hold that in Hebrew the antepenult never receives the primary accent. There are however circumstances which occasion the retrogression of the primary accent as far as the antepenult, e. g. נֶעְמָו מַיִם *né'(e)rĕmú máy(i)m* Ex. xv, 8.

§. 19. The accents, as signs of interpunctuation are divided into *Separatives (distinctivi)* or *rulers*, and *Unitives (conjunctivi)* or *servants*. That the accentuation preeminently serves a musical purpose appears from the following reasons, 1) that the logical discrimination needed proportionally far fewer separatives; 2) that many unitives have been found which do not indicate various degrees of connection, but only represent different kinds of modulation; 3) that there is a so-called prosaic accentuation, which is distinguished from the metrical not logically, but only musically, since it is based upon a more manifold, richer, more artistic and pathetic cantillation; 4) that even short verses are accentuated after the analogy of the longer, which can only have arisen from an effort to secure a symmetrical recitation. There are however verses which form such a continuity that the halving of the verse through a great separative, or even at all, cannot be effected, e. g. Gen. xxi, 9. Numb. ix, 1. Deut. iv, 48; v, 23. 1 Chron. xxviii, 1. But as a rule the verse whether long or short is divided into two members. Both accentual systems rest upon the same dichotomic principle. The great accents are heaped upon the end of the verse, since its close according to the rhythmical rule should be spoken slowly and sung with suitable cadence. Words which belong closely together are commonly united with Maqqēf and then receive only one accent. The metrical accentuation however frequently prefers to give the first word a unitive, as e. g. 'ānī in the three poetical books is never connected with Maqqēf. That the Maqqēf serves to prevent the succession of several unitives is not true; several unitives can immediately follow one another, but never more than six Jer. xxxv, 15. 2. Kings xviii, 14. They are all of the same logical value. The connective power,

however, of the unitive which *precedes* is stronger than that of the one which follows, as also the disjunctive power of the separative which precedes is stronger than that of the one which follows. The ascendancy of the musical function is further indicated by the fact that one word can be provided with two unitives. There are on the other hand only five examples, in which one word is pointed with two separative accents, Gen. v, 29. Lev. x, 4. 2. Kings xvii, 13. Ez. xlvi, 10. Zeph. ii, 15.

§. 20. Prose accents. *A) Separatives:* 1) \aleph *Sil-lúq*, which with *Sóφ pāsúq* (:) always indicates the end of a period; 2) \aleph *'Ašnahtá* (*'Ašnaḥ*); 3) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Sěgoltá*, which is always above the last letter and hence does not indicate the tone-syllable; 4) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Zāqēφ qātān* with $\hat{\aleph}$ *Zāqēφ gādól*; 5) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Rěβí'a*; 6) \aleph *Tīφhá*; 7) \aleph *Těβír*; 8) \aleph *Yěšíβ* and its equivalent $\hat{\aleph}$ *Paštá*, the former with words which are not preceded by any unitive and whose tone is on the first letter, the latter where both conditions fail; 9) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Pāzēr* (*qātān*) and its equivalent $\hat{\aleph}$ *Pāzēr gādól* or *Qarné φārā*, which occurs only sixteen times, Num. xxxv, 5. Jos. xix, 51. 2. Sam. iv, 2 etc.; 10) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Tāres*, *Gāreš* or *'Azlá* with $\hat{\aleph}$ *Gěřāšayim*, double *Gāreš*; 11) \aleph *Lěγarmēh*, the figure of a *Mūnaḥ* with a separating stroke after it; 12) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Tělišá* *γěđólā*, always above the first letter of the word and inclining to the right; 13) $\hat{\aleph}$ *Zarqá* always above and a little to the left of the last letter; 14) \aleph *Šalsāleš*, which only occurs seven times, Gen. xix, 16; xxiv, 12 etc. *B) Unitives:* 1) \aleph *Mūnaḥ*, sometimes e. g. Gen. xviii, 25; xliii, 21 with following *Pāsēq* as a unitive, which may be recognized by this, that *Lěγarmēh* scarcely ever appears except on the second word before *Rěβí'a*;

2) ⚡ *Mêrēḫâ*; 3) ⚡ *Mêrēḫâ kēḫâlâ*, double *Mêrēḫâ*, which occurs only fourteen times; 4) ⚡ *Mēhuppāḫ* (*Mahpaḫ*), always with the tone-syllable after the vowel, while *Yēḫēḫ* stands outside of the word before the vowel of the first letter; 5) ⚡ *Dargā*; 6) ⚡ *Qadmâ*, always over the first letter of the tone-syllable, while *Paštâ* stands at the end of the word; 7) ⚡ *Tēlišâ qēṭannâ*, always at the end of a word and inclining towards the left, while the separative *Tēlišâ qēḫōlâ* stands at the beginning of a word and inclines to the right; 8) ⚡ *Galgal* only sixteen times with following *Pāzēr qēḫōlâ*; 9) ⚡ *Mē'aylâ*, which has the same form as the separative *Tiḫhâ*, but which is easily distinguishable, since it never occurs alone, but under the same word with *Sillūq*, Lev. xxi, 4 or *'Aḫnah*, Numb. xxviii, 26, takes the place of the counter-tone. It is customary with the prepositives and postpositives to indicate the tone-syllable by the repetition of the figure of the accent e. g. ⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡ *šēm'at'ḫa* Gen. xvii, 20. The three greatest separatives are *Sillūq*, which closes the verse, *'Aḫnah* which halves it, and *Sēḫoltâ* (or its vicar *Šalsāleḫ*), which, when the first hemistich is large, halves it again, e. g. Gen. i, 7. Each of these great separatives can only be used once in a verse. Of course every verse must have a *Sillūq*. But verses occur, as Gen. xxi, 9, which cannot have *'Aḫnah*, and consequently cannot have any *Sēḫoltâ*. There are circumstances which render *'Aḫnah* possible under the first word of a verse e. g. Gen. xv, 8; xxxv, 5, but not *Sēḫoltâ*, in this case *Šalsāleḫ* takes its place e. g. Gen. xxiv, 12. Next in rank to the greatest separatives follow the great separatives *Zāqēḫ* and *Rēḫiā'*; the smaller separatives *Paštâ* (*Yēḫēḫ*), *Tiḫhâ*, *Tēḫîr* and *Zarqā*; the smallest separatives *Türes*, *Lēḫarmēḫ*, *Ḳāzēr* and *Tēlišâ qēḫōlâ*. *Zāqēḫ* separates more than *Rēḫiā'*; *Tiḫhâ* more than *Tēḫîr*, *Türes* and *Lēḫarmēḫ* more than

Pāzēr; *Pāzēr* more than *Tēlīsā*, which is the least of all the separatives. With the exception of the three greatest separatives all the others can be repeated in the verse, yet *Tīçhā*, *Rēþiá*, *Tāres* and *Tēlīs'á* cannot be repeated immediately after each other. A single verse of the Bible, Is. xxxix, 2, contains all the separatives. We pass over the assignment of the unitives to the separatives, since all the separatives, assuch, have the same worth. *Yēz'íþ*, *Zāqēç* *γādól*, and *Šalsüle* appear always without any preceding servants. The other separatives can be accompanied by servants or not; only *Pāzēr* *γādól* is never found without a servant.

§. 20 a. In the metrical system of accentuation the following occupy the first rank as the greatest separatives § *Sillúq*, §§ *'Ólā vęyórēð* (*Mēręçā-mahpaç*), and § *'Aznahā*, which again halves the second hemistich following *'Ólā vęyórēð*. The second class is represented by § *Rēþiá* *gādól*. The third class comprises § *Çinnór* or *Zarqā* (postpositivus); §§ *Rēþiá* *muçrās*; § *Rēþiá* *qātān* which may be recognized by the fact that *'Ólā vęyórēð* always immediately follows; and | § *Šalsüle* *gęðólā*, with a separating stroke behind it. The least separatives of the fourth class are § *Dęhí* (*Tīçhā* *initiale*), which is always before the vowel at the beginning of a word; § *Pāzēr* and | § *Męhuppāç* *Lęçarmēh* together with | § *'Azlā* (*Qadmá*) *Lęçarmēh*. *Dęhí* and *Pāzēr* separate more than *Lęçarmēh*; *Pāzēr* separates more than *Lęçarmēh* and less than *Dęhí*. But in the beginning of a period which does not allow of any *'Ólā vęyórēð* nor *'Aznah*, *Pāzēr*, Ps. cxlvi, 1 and *Lęçarmēh*, Ps. cvi, 1 sometimes have the value of this greatest separative. The unitives in this accentual system of the three so-called metrical books are § *Mēręçā*, § *Múnah*, § *'Illáy* (upper

Mûnah), & *Galgal* or *Yārah*, & *Tarḥā*, which can be distinguished from *Dḡhā* by its position under the tone-syllable, & *Mḡhuppāḡ*, & 'Azlā, and & Šalsāleḡ qḡṭannū. The figure of *Ḥinnôr* or *Zarqū* in words like קומָה qūmā, Ps. iii, 8, is Ḥinnôrîḡ, which is always written over an open syllable, preceding one which is provided with *Mērḡḡā* or *Mḡhuppāḡ*; its value is simply musical: the ultima in the above קומָה is the tone-syllable, as is always the case with following יהוה (= אֱלֹהִים) or אֱלֹהִים Num. x, 35. Ps. lxxiv, 22. The descent of the tone is intended to secure the clear pronunciation of the colliding syllables. In both accentual systems, the laws of transformation¹ furnish an important chapter for

¹ The laws, for the transformation of separatives into unitives in the metrical system of accents are given by S. Baer in Delitzsch's "Commentar über den Psalter", B. ii, 1860, S. 503 sq. In the accentual system of the twenty one prose books the following rules are to be observed. A) Pašṭa without any preceding servant only stands before Zāqēḡ, when the word which should receive Zāqēḡ has two syllables before the tone, e. g. עֲמֹרֵיהֶם אֲרִבְעָה Ex. xxvii, 16. A long vowel, viz. Ḥōlem, Qāmēḡ or Ḥērē, is equivalent to two syllables. If the word which receives Zāqēḡ does not have two syllables before the tone, the servant *Mûnah* must be placed before it instead of Pašṭa, e. g. עֲמֹרֵיהֶם שְׁלֹשָׁה Ex. xxvii, 14. B) Zāqēḡ and Ṭiḡḡa can only stand before Sillūḡ, when the word with Sillūḡ or even that with Ṭiḡḡa has two syllables before the tone, e. g. לִמְטָה רֹאשׁוֹן שְׁמֹרֶת בְּיָדְכֶם Num. xiii, 4 (with the servant *Mûnah* before Zāqēḡ). If the word with Sillūḡ does not have two syllables before the tone, the servant *Mērḡḡa* must be placed instead of Ṭiḡḡa; hence Zāqēḡ cannot remain before the *Mērḡḡa*, since Zāqēḡ must not stand immediately before Sillūḡ, and so Ṭiḡḡa takes the place of Zāqēḡ, e. g. לִמְטָה אֲפָרִים הוֹשֵׁעַ בְּיָדְכֶם Numb. xiii, 8. C) The same rule is in force before Ašnaḡṭa, e. g. וְכִין כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲחֻבָּה Gen. ix, 12, where likewise Ṭiḡḡa before Ašnaḡṭa becomes a servant. The word חַיָּה has Ṭiḡḡa, not Zāqēḡ, since Zāqēḡ cannot

the grammarian and exegete. There are circumstances under which a unitive takes the place of a separative for an absolutely rhythmical reason, just as, for rhythmical reasons, in the realm of Sillûq great separatives take the place of unitives in order to secure an emphatic final cadence. The rhythmical demands of the cadence also furnish reasons for changes to which the tone-syllable of the word is subject at the end or middle of the verse or even with greater distinctives within the verse.

§. 21. The *pausa* enters at the end of a sentence, especially with *Sillûq* and 'Aḏnaḥ and in the three metrical books with *Sillûq*, 'Ôlā v̄yôred or 'Aḏnaḥ i. e. the last word undergoes certain changes in order that each sentence when recited may have a fitting cadence. A half vowel in the penultima is heightened to its original vowel and receives the tone. Accordingly קָטָלָה *qātālā* is changed to קָטָלָה *qātālā*, כָּבְדָה *kāḇḏā* to כָּבְדָה *kāḇḏā*, יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭlū* to יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭlū*, לְהִי *lēhī* to לְהִי *lēhī*, אֲנִי *'ānī* to אֲנִי *'ānī*, חֲלִי *ḥōlī* to חֲלִי *ḥōlī* (original forms *qatalat*, *kabidat*, *yaqtulūna*, *lachy*, 'any, *ḥuly*). Otherwise the tone is seldom drawn back, except in אֲנֹחִי *'ānōḥī*, אֲטָא *'āttā*, אֲטָא *'āttā*). On the contrary in the apocopated future the tone returns to the final syllable, because this contains the stem of the word; hence *a* enters instead of *e*. Thus נִיָּקֹם *vay-yāqom* becomes נִיָּקֹם *vay-yāqōm* in *pausa*, נִיָּגָמֵל *vay-yiggāmel* becomes נִיָּגָמֵל *vay-yiggāmāl*, נִיָּעֵלֵךְ *vay-yēleḥ*, נִיָּעֵלֵךְ *vay-*

stand immediately before Aḏnaḥta or Sillûq, and the word נִיָּעֵלֵךְ has Tēbir, not Pašta, because Pašta before Tīḥa is not allowable. In all these cases the accentuation is determined by musical laws, and the exegete must beware of confounding the musical with the logical accentuation.

yēláχ, תָּלֵן *tālen*, תָּלִין *tālín* (original forms *va yaqum*, *va yangamil*, *va yalik*, *talin*). In monosyllabic nominal stems original *a* is often heightened to \bar{a} instead of $\bar{ā}$, e. g. גָּבַר *gāḇ(e)r*, זָרַע *zār(a)ʿ*, which out of pausa are גָּבַר *gāḇ(e)r*, זָרַע *zār(a)ʿ*, original forms *gabr*, *zarʿ*. Short accented *a* is heightened in the pausa, e. g. קָטַל *qātál* to קָטַל *qātál*, מָיִם *máy(i)m* to מָיִם *máy(i)m*.

II.

PHONOLOGY.

1. CONSONANTS.

§. 22. The Hebrew consonants are divided according to their organic formation into *gutturals* (‘, *h*, *h*, ‘), *palatals* (*y*, *g*, *k*, *q*), *labials* (*v*, *b*, *p*), *dentals* (*d*, *t*, *t*) and *sibilants* (*z*, *s*, *š*, *š*, *š*). The letter *n* is a dental and *m* a labial nasal, *l* is a dental, *r* vacillates between gutturals and dentals. The Hebrew consonants may be distinguished 1) according to their duration into continuatives (*h*, *h*, *y*, *v*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *š*, *n*, *m*, *r*, *l*), and explosives (the remaining letters), and 2) according to their degree of hardness, as softest (‘, *y*, *v*), soft (*h*, *g*, *b*, *d*, *z*), hard (*h*, *k*, *p*, *t*, *s*, *š*, *š*), and hardest (‘, *q*, *t*, *š*).¹ The letters *v*, *y* form a special class as

¹ In Ethiopic there is a labial (*Pait*, see Dillmann, “Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache”, Leipzig 1857, S. 45, §. 5) of the hardest degree. The propriety of reckoning ‘Ayin among the hardest explosives is justified by its manifold correspondence in Aramaic to the Hebrew *š*, since in these cases the original *š* first became *q* (compare Chaldaic אַרְגָּא *’argá*) and then ‘; and it is not invalidated by the fact that ‘Ayin afterwards became almost mute, since *q* has suffered the same fate in a part of the Arabic speaking countries, See Hassan, “Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache”, Wien 1869, S. 5.

vowel consonants, which easily pass over into their corresponding vowels. The following table illustrates the organic distinction of the letters and their relative degrees of hardness.

	1 <i>Softest.</i>	2 <i>Soft.</i>	3 <i>Hard.</i>	4 <i>Hardest.</i>	<i>Nasals.</i>	<i>Liquids.</i>
Palatals	י ך } vowel- consonants.	ג	ט	ק		
Labials		ב	פ		מ	
Dentals		ד	ת	צ	נ	ל } ך
Gutturals	א	ה	ו	ע		
Sibilants		ז	ס ש ז	ז		

§. 23. Parts of the Hebrew sibilants have arisen from original dentals, namely a part of *z* from *d* e. g. צִבּוֹן *z(ē)vēβ*, compare Aramaic דִּבְבָא *dēβā*, Arabic ذَيْبٌ *dzībun*; of *š* from *t*, e. g. שׁוֹר *šór*, Aram. תּוֹרָא *tórā*, Arab. تَسْرُورٌ *tsaurun*; of *ç* from *t*, e. g. צָבִי *ç(ē)βī*, Aram. צַבְיָא *taβya*, Arab. ظَبْيٌ *tçabyun*. The analogy of *š* and the transposition of *tç* to *çt*, compare §. 25, render it probable that *z* and *ç* were spoken without any dental admixture. The difficult letter *š* may be regarded as already in the primitive Semitic a medial sound between *s* and *š*, which maintained itself in Hebrew, while in Aramaic it went back to *s*, and in Arabic was still further developed to *š* (ش), compare on the other hand Olshausen §. 6. e. Neither *š* nor *š* is original, since the former has arisen from *s*, and the latter from *s* or *t*. Both *ç* and *h* had a smoother and a harder sound. This is proved through the LXX,

the old Egyptian transcription¹, and lexical reasons (i. e. the different significations of some identical roots, in which a *h* or 'ayin occurs); e. g. אָזַע 'Azzā, LXX. Γάζα; אָמַלְעָק 'Amālēq, Ἀμαλέα; אָמַחַם Hām, Χάμ; אָחַב Hāvā, Εὐά.

§. 24. The letters *b, g, d, k, p, t* when immediately preceded by a vowel or half vowel *Šǝvā mobile* or *Īlātēφ*, even in a foregoing word, become *aspirated*. E. g. אָפָר, *šāpār*, אָפָרָא *bǝrāχá*, אָפָר' *kǝp'*. The aspiration ceases: 1) when the preceding word is punctuated with a larger or smaller separative accent, e. g. with *Rǝbíá'* Gen. iii, 5 אָפָר בִּי *ki bǝyóm*; 2) when the consonant is doubled e. g. אָפָפָר *kappér*; 3) after an inserted auxiliary *Pašah* which as will be mentioned in §. 55, rem. was first used at a very late period, e. g. אָפָפָר אָפָפָר *šālāh(a)t*, אָפָפָר אָפָפָר *yih(a)d*. The aspiration never occurs after a consonant, but after *Āleφ* at the end of a syllable, which is no longer a consonant, and as a matter of course after final *He* when it is merely a vowel sign (§. 13). — The great age of this lingual phenomenon is attested through the Aramaic and the Egyptian transcription, but (excepting *Phē*) it has not yet penetrated the Arabic.

§. 25. The transposition of consonants enters the *hišpa'el* even in the primitive Semitic, since *hiš-s, hiš-š, hiš-š* become *his-t, hiš-t, hiš-t*, e. g. אָפָפָפָר *hištā'ér*, אָפָפָפָר *hištammér*. If the sibilant is a *š*, the *t* must be brought to the same degree of hardness, consequently to *t̄* (See the fourth grade in the preceding table), e. g. אָפָפָפָר *hištaddēq*.

¹ When ' in hieroglyphic texts corresponds to *ε* it is transcribed by characters which are equivalent to *a, ā*, but when it corresponds to *ε* by characters for *g, k*, e. g. in Gaza. A similar distinction is observed in such inscriptions between Semitic words, whose *h* is equivalent to an Arabic *ح* or *خ*.

In the only example for *z* assimilation takes place instead of transposition, e. g. הִזְזַקְּה *hizzakkū* for *hizdakkū*.

§. 26. Doubling of a consonant arises otherwise than through the fortuitous conjunction of two identical consonants, as in נָזְזָן-נָז *nāzān-nū*: 1) in certain forms of the noun and verb (pi'el) which have resulted from original reduplication of the roots; 2) in consequence of the vocal law in primitive Semitic that, as a rule, the short vowel between two identical consonants is cast out, or, when this is impossible, transposed that the identical consonants may come together. Comp. סַב *saβ* according to §. 27 for *sabb*, originally *sababa*, סַבְּבִי *sābbū* from *sababū*, יָסַבְּבִי *yāsōbbū* from *yasubbū* transposed for *yasubū*. 3) Doubling arises through the assimilation of two consonants, especially of *n* to a following consonant (יִפְּוֹל *yippōl* for *yinpōl*, נָזְזָתָא *nāzāttā* for *nāzāntā*, מִשְׁשָׁם *miššām* for *minšām*, before gutturals the assimilation is often omitted, compare יִנְהָל *yinhāl*), of *l* in יִיֶּקָח *yiqqāh*, of *y* (*r*), in several verbs, as יִיֶּצֶק *yiççōq*, from *yi-yççōq*, original form *yaççuq* (unless perhaps there is here a transition to the verbal class *primae nun*), and of the *t* in the hiṣpa'el before dentals (הִדְּלַבֵּר *hiddabbēr*, הִטְּחֵר *hittahēr*). 4) Sometimes the doubling is only euphonic, either in order to bind two words more closely together (מַזְזָא *mazzā*), or in order to protect a short vowel through the closing of the syllable against changes e. g. גְּמַלְלִים *gǔmallim*, Stat. cstr. גְּמַלְלֵי *gǔmallē*.

§. 27. The doubling always ceases at the end of a word, because no syllable can end with two consonants, comp. §. 30; besides this the accented final syllable must be heightened, according to §. 42, 1; only

a can remain short. Compare כֹּל *kullô'* with כָּל *kâl* for *kull*, and according to §. 19, כּוֹל- *kol-*, הֶסֶב *hēsēḥ* original form *hisibb*, with הֶסֶבּוֹ *hāsibbô'* *ḥā*, יָצָר *yǝḥar-* *vā* with יָצָר *vayǝḥar*, אָפַּח *'appô'* with אָפָּח *'aḥ*, תִּטִּי *tittî* with תִּי *tē* for *titt*. The doubling can also disappear before a half vowel, especially in the prefixes *yǝ* and *mǝ* before the piel, yet never in letters which can be aspirated, e. g. יָצָר *vayǝḥar*, הֶסֶבּוֹ *hamǝḥabbēr*, יָצָר *vayǝḥi'*, but יָצָר *vattǝḥabbēr*.

§. 28. The gutturals ' *h* ' *ḥ*, as well as *r* are not wont to be doubled in Hebrew, nevertheless the preceding vowel is either treated as though the doubling had taken place, and the syllable is closed through so-called *Dāyēš forte implicitum* (this is almost always the case with *ḥ* and in the piel with *h* and ' , seldom with ' and never with *r*, compare הֶחֱדָשׁ *haḥōd(e)š*, בִּיעַר *bi'ēr*, תִּיָּהַר *tihār*, הֶחֱיָה *haḥū'*, נִיעַץ *ni'ēḥ*), or the preceding syllable is regarded as open and its vowel is heightened according to §. 42. This occurs only seldom with *ḥ*, commonly with ' , *h*, almost always with ' and always with *r*, e. g. הֶחֱיָה *hā'āy(i)n*, הֶחֱיָה *hāhār*, חֶחֱיָה *hā'ār(e)ḥ*, בִּיעַר *bērēḥ*.¹

§. 29. When *ḥ*, which is to be doubled has *Qāmēḥ*, or *Hätēḥ qāmēḥ*, the vowel before it is wont to be heightened to *ā* for the sake of dissimilarity. It is heightened before *h* and ' only when the *Qāmēḥ* is unaccented. Compare הֶחֱיָה *hāḥāzō'n*, כֶּחֱיָה *kāḥā's*, חֶחֱיָה *'āḥā(y)v*, הֶחֱדָשׁ *hāḥōdāš'i'm*, הֶחֱיָה *hāḥār'i'm*, but הֶחֱיָה *hāhār*, חֶחֱיָה *hā'āvō'n*, but חֶחֱיָה *hā'ām*. This heightening

¹ *There are only a few cases in which ר is pointed with *Dāyēš*, compare Delitzsch on Prov. iii, 8; xiv, 10.

occurs before ' only in $\text{הָאֶזְבִּיב} \text{ } h\bar{a}'\bar{u}n\bar{o}y\bar{b}'$, but never before *v*.

§. 30. No syllable, in Hebrew, can begin with two consonants (except $\text{שְׂתַיִם} \text{ } \textit{stáyim}$). To prevent this a half vowel is inserted between them (e. g. $\text{קָטַל} \text{ } q(\textit{š})t\bar{o}l$, original form $qtul = qutl$, Arabic 'uqtul). The Arabic expedient of prefixing an 'Alef prostheticum to the word is less in favor. Compare $\text{עֲזָרוֹ} \text{ } 'ezr\bar{o}(a)$ with $\text{זֵרָוֹ} \text{ } z\check{e}-r\bar{o}(a)$, original form $zirá'$. — Nor are two consonants allowed at the end of a syllable, except several combinations with *b*, *d*, *t*, \textit{t} , *k* or *q* at the end of a word, as $\text{וַיַּיָּשָׁק} \text{ } \textit{vayyášq}$, $\text{וַיַּיָּעַד} \text{ } \textit{vayyéd}$, $\text{וַיַּיָּעֵק} \text{ } \textit{vayyéc\check{e}k}$. Otherwise it is always customary in such a case to insert an auxiliary vowel, comp. §. 52.

§. 31. The vowel consonants *v*, *y* are subject through permutation, vocalization and elision to many vocal laws which, with the exception of the first four cases in this paragraph, existed even in primitive Semitic. The letter *v* frequently passes over into *y* through permutation, 1) especially at the beginning of a word e. g. $\text{יָלַד} \text{ } \textit{yulád}$, originally \textit{valada} , $\text{יָשַׁב} \text{ } \textit{y\bar{o}šé\check{e}b}$, orig. $\textit{vášib}$, only a few words, as $\text{רָוַח} \text{ } \textit{r\bar{a}v}$ and $\text{וָלַד} \text{ } \textit{v\bar{a}-l\bar{u}d}$ retain *v*; 2) mostly also after the prefix of the $\text{hi}\check{p}a'el$, e. g. $\text{הִיָּבַלְד} \text{ } \textit{h\bar{i}y\bar{a}ll\bar{e}d}$, yet forms like $\text{הִיָּבַלְדָּה} \text{ } \textit{h\bar{i}v\bar{a}ll\bar{e}'}$ occur; 3) often in reduplicated second radical consonants, e. g. $\text{קָיַם} \text{ } \textit{qayyém}$; 4) almost always, where *v* appears as a third radical consonant, as in $\text{גָּלַי} \text{ } \textit{g\bar{a}-l\bar{u}y}$; 5) between *i* and a consonant, comp. $\text{יָרַח} \text{ } 'i\bar{r} = 'iy\bar{r} = 'iv\bar{r}$, $\text{יָרַשׁ} \text{ } \textit{y\bar{i}r\bar{a}š} = \textit{yiy\bar{r}aš} = \textit{yiv\bar{r}aš}$; 6) between a consonant and *i*, comp. $\text{יָאִים} \text{ } \textit{y\bar{a}q\bar{i}m} = \textit{yaqy\bar{i}m} = \textit{yaq-ri\bar{m}}$. — The transformation of *y* into *v*, especially between *u* and a consonant, is more seldom, comp. $\text{שׁוּשׁ} \text{ } \textit{š\bar{u}š} = \textit{šurš} = \textit{šuyš}$.

§. 32. Elision of the vowel consonants occurs in the following cases. 1) The transposed form *qtil* from *qitl* lost its first radical consonant through aphaeresis, when it was a *v*. This is the fundamental form of the infinitive, imperative and future *qal* of a number of primæ *v* verbs. Comp. דָּעַ $d\bar{v}(a)'$ = $[v]d\bar{i}'$, שֵׁב $\bar{s}\bar{v}\bar{\beta}$ = $[v]\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{b}$, יֵשֵׁב $y\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{\beta}$ = $y\bar{i}-\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{b}$ = $ya-[v]\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{b}$ ¹; likewise the feminine infinitive of the form *qtal* from *qatl*, as שָׁבָה $\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{\beta}(e)\bar{b}$ = $v\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{b}-t$. 2) After a consonant *va*, *ya* elide their *v*, *y* and receive, instead of these, compensative lengthening of the *a* to \hat{a} Hebrew \hat{o} according to §. 40. Comp. נָקָם $n\bar{a}q\hat{o}'m$, מָקָם $m\bar{a}q\hat{o}'m$, יָבוֹא $y\bar{a}\bar{\beta}\hat{o}'$, יָבוֹשׁ $y\bar{e}\bar{\beta}\hat{o}'\bar{s}$, נָבוֹן $n\bar{a}\bar{\beta}\hat{o}'n$ from *naqvam*, *maqvam*, *yabra'*, *yibvaš*, *nabyan*. 3) Likewise *v*, *y* between two vowels are almost always elided², of course without compensation, and then both vowels are contracted. By this means *ava*, *aya* become \hat{a} or \hat{o} (קָם $q\hat{a}m$, סָר $s\hat{a}r$, דֹּר $d\hat{o}r$, יָקָם $y\bar{i}q\hat{q}\hat{o}'m$, יָכֹן $y\bar{i}k\hat{k}\hat{o}'n$ from *qavam*, *savar*, *davar*, *yinqavam*, *yinkavan*), *avi* becomes \hat{e} (מֵי $m\bar{e}$ = *marit*), *aru* becomes \hat{o} (בֹּשׁ $b\hat{o}\bar{s}$ = *bavuš*). A preceding short vowel is absorbed by a following long one, thus קָם $q\hat{a}m$ has arisen from *qavum*. — This elision of *y*, *v* between two vowels occurred even when the second was one of those final vowels, which according to §. 37, fall away in Hebrew.³ In this case however

¹ The aphaeresis of the *v* is of course older than the introduction of the future prefixes.

² The elision does not take place, when two vowel consonants follow each other as radical letters, e. g. רָוָה $r\bar{a}v\hat{a}$ = *rava[ya]* and in few other cases, as רָוַח $r\bar{a}v\hat{a}h$, אָיָב $\bar{a}y\hat{a}\bar{\beta}$.

³ The elision of *v*, *y* between the two vowels was customary even in the old Semitic, while the casting off of the original final vowel which immediately follows rests upon the later specific Hebrew law of *final sound*. Comp. Arab. *ramá* = *ra-*

no vowel contraction could enter because in Hebrew after the elision of *y*, *v* the final vowel which immediately follows is also rejected. Hence there arose only a heightening of the preceding vowel according to §. 42, 2. It is perhaps merely accidental that original *a[va]*, *a[ya]* is always heightened to *ā* and original *a[vu]*, *a[yu]* to *ū*, e. g. גָּלָאֵה *gālā* (but not *gālā*, since with the suffix it has the form גָּלְעָאֵה), original form *gala[va]*, יִיְלָאֵה *yīlā*, original form *ya-gla[vu]*, גּוֹלָאֵה *gōlā*, original form *gāla[vum]*. When *ū* precedes *v*, *y*, it remains or becomes *ô* according to §. 40, e. g. *infín. absol.* גָּלוֹה *gālô* = *galāvum*. But if the vowel which followed was long or was not the last sound in the word, it was naturally not affected by the laws of *final sound*, but remained and after the ejection of *v* or *y* the short vowel was either contracted or absorbed by the long one. Comp. *infín. constr.* גְּלוֹה־ *gĕlôh* = *gĕlât*, *gĕla[v]-at*, 3. fem. Perf. אֲשַׁטְּ *‘āšĕt* (commonly with a double feminine ending אֲשַׁטְּתִּי *‘āšĕt-tî*) = *‘aša-t*, according to §. 38 for *‘ašât*. from *‘ašav-at*, גָּלוֹה־ *gālôh* = *galavû*, יִיְלָוֵה *yīlû* = *yaqlavûna*, אֲשַׁטְּ *‘ôšĕt* = *‘ásavî*.

§. 33. On the contrary elision does not take place, but the vocalizing of *y*, *v* to *i*, *u*: 1) between *a* and a consonant; 2) between a homogeneous vowel and a consonant; 3) between a consonant and a homogeneous vowel (*i* is homogeneous with *y*, *u* with *v*). Then *iy* and *yi* become *î*, *uv* and *vu* become *û*, *ay* becomes *ê*, *av* becomes *ô*. Compare יִיְתָאֵב *yîtaḅ* = *yijtaḅ*, הִיבִין *hîbîn* = *hibyîn*, נֶאֱמַרְתִּי *nĕmartaî* from *naqîy*, חִשְׁבִּי *hîšĕbî* from

ma[y]a, with hebr. *rāmā* = *rama[ya]*; Arab. *ya‘lū* = *ya‘lu[v]u*, apocopated *ya‘lu*, with hebr. *ya‘(ā)lā* = *ya‘la[vu]*, apocopated *ya‘(u)l* = *ya‘l[a]*.

huvšab, יָקוּם *yāqú'm* from *yaqrum*, אָשׂוּ' *'āšú'* from *'ašûr*, בַּיַּת *bé'ē* from *bayt*, הַיְיִטִּב *hét'itβ* from *hayitβ*, מֵוֶה *mô'ē* from *mart*, נוֹשֵׁב *nôšáβ* from *navšab*. The number of the homogeneous vowels is increased by the fact that according to §. 31 *vi* becomes *yi*, *iv* becomes *iy*, *yu* however becomes *yi*, and then all three are changed to *i*. Comp. יִירָשׁ *yírás* = *yiyraš*, *yicraš*, הֶעֱקִים *hēqím* = *hiqyim* = *hiqvim*, יָבִין *yāβi'n* = *yabyin*, *yabyun*. On the contrary *úy*, גָּלִי' *gālú'y*, remains unchanged. — The vocalization of the vowel consonants naturally takes place provided they already formed the final sound of the word in primitive Semitic, e. g. סוּסֵי *súsé'* = *súsay*. Therefore the imperative of the stems *tert. v*, *y* has a diphthongal ending, comp. גֶּלֶ' *gělé* from *gělay*. For the nouns whose *stat. absol.* ends in *ā*, and the *stat. estr.* in *é* comp. §. 95. — The *ay* which has arisen from *é* is sometimes attenuated to *i* (גָּלִי' *gāl'í* גָּלִי' *gāl'í*), and the *ó* which has arisen from *av* becomes in rare cases *ú*, יוֹכָל *yúχál* = *yóχal*, *yavkal*.¹ It is necessary to accept the diphthongal change, contested by Olshausen of *ay* to *â* (יִתְּנָה *g(ě)länā*, תִּתְּנָה *tiğlänā*, סוּסֵי *súsähá*, of which the original forms were *glayna*, *taglayna*, *súsayhâ*, since otherwise vowel consonants in the original final sound of the syllable are never *elided*. — In the Hebrew composition *i-yě* is contracted to *i*, compare וְיֵהִי *vihí'* = *vi yěhí'*, בִּיהֵדָה *bíhúdá* = *bi yěhúdá*.

§. 34. The vowel consonants *y*, *v* retain their consonantal character, 1) when as first radical con-

¹ *The author considers the form יוֹכָל as the future *gal*. It is commonly regarded as a *hoφ'al* which, in a metaplastic way, lends to the verb יָכַל, *to be capable*, its imperfect, *he shall be made capable*.

sonants they begin the syllable¹ e. g. יָשַׁב *yāšab*;
 2) when an unhomogeneous vowel except *a* precedes,
 e. g. שָׁלוֹ *šālēv*, גָּלוּי *gālūy*, גוֹי *gōy*, זֵיו *zīv*; these combinations are not diphthongs and hence the hard sound of *b g d k p t* follows them; 3) when they are doubled קִיּוּם *qiyyām*, חַיָּה *hayyā*, גַּוּוֹ' *gavvō'*, יִיבָרֵשׁ *yivvārēš*; if the doubling falls out, *iy* becomes *i* עִבְרִי 'iḇrī', plur. עִבְרִיִּים 'iḇriyyīm also עִבְרִי' *'iḇrī'm*, but *ay*, *av* remain, except in the *stat. cstr.*, חַי *hay*, *stat. cstr.* הֵי *hē*, גַּו *gav* *stat. cstr.* probably גוֹ *gō*, עָלַי 'ālay, original form 'alayya.
 4) Besides *ay*, *av* are also retained in isolated cases, as שָׁלוּרְתִי *šālūrtī*, עֹלָה 'avlá, מַיְמִינִים *maymīnīm*, regularly however in the *stat. absol.* of monosyllabic nominal forms, where *av*, *ay* through insertion of an auxiliary vowel become *áv(e)*, *áy(i)*, while in the *stat. cstr.* contraction always takes place e. g. מְוָה *máv(e)* בָּה *báy(i)* בְּ, *cstr.* מוֹה *mōh* בְּה *bēh*. Yet compare §. 32, Remark 1. All the rules concerning the vowel consonants may be condensed into the following sentence: *v, y* between vowels, as well as between a consonant and an *a*, are elided, in the latter case with the compensative lengthening of *a* to *ō*; otherwise, when it is possible, they are vocalized, whereby *v* through a preceding or following *i* is changed into *y*.

§. 35. Besides *v* (comp. §. 32, 1) the following letters, can suffer *aphaeresis* in the form *qal*, *qtīl* = *qatl*, *qītl*: 1) *n* גַּשׁ *gaš* for [nə]gaš, גַּשְׁתָּ *gāš(e)* for nəgaš-t, תֵּן *tēn* for nətin, תֵּנתָ *tēn* for nətin-t; 2) *l* in קַח *qah* = ləqah, קַחְתָּ *qāh(a)* = ləqah-t, *h* in לֵךְ *lēx* = [hə]lik,

¹ In the initial sound of a word only the copula הֵ עֵ before half vocalized syllables, with šəva or hatef, and the labials *b, p, m* is resolved into *ū*. There are no other cases in Hebrew, where the initial sound of a syllable is a vowel without 'alep.

לַחֲלֹקֶת $lā\check{\chi}(e)\text{ḥ}$ = [hǎ]lak-t. Initial 'ā is cut off from אָנַחְנֹה 'ānahnu leaving נָחְנו nahnu. The h of the prefixes is usually thrown out between a half vowel and a vowel, whereby the former vanishes, e. g. לַמַּלְלִים $lammāl(e)\chi$, from לֶחֶם-הַמִּלְלִים $l\check{\chi}$ -ham-mül(e) χ , יַאֲקִיֵּל $yaqtīl$ from יֶחֶם-הַיֵּל $y\check{\chi}$ -ha-qtīl. The second vowel vanishes in בָּם $bām$ from בָּהֶם $bāhēm$. Contraction enters in the suffix סוּסוֹ $sūsō'$ from סוּסָא-הוּ $sūsā-hū$.

§. 36. The 'Ālep almost always retains its consonantal power in the initial sound of the syllable, except in the future of some verbs *primae* 'Ālep, in which contraction takes place between the vowel of the prefix and the auxiliary vowel (יֹחֵל $yō\check{\chi}ēl$ from יָא-חֵל $yā$ -'ā $\check{\chi}ēl$, יֹמָר $yōmār$ from יָא-אָמַר $yā$ -'amar. In other isolated cases 'ālep is elided between two vowels, comp. לֵמֹר $lēmō'r$ from לֶ'ֶמֹר le -'ēmor, מְאָדִים $māḏáyim$ from מֶ'ֶאָדִים $m\check{\chi}$ -'āḏáyim, רָאִים $rāsīm$ from רֶ'ֶאִים $r\check{\chi}$ -'āšīm, לַדֹּנָי $ladōnāy$ from לָא-דֹנָי la -'āḏōnāy, the same sometimes occurs after a consonant, as in מְלָאֵל $m\check{\chi}lā\check{\chi}á$ from מַל'ֵאֵל mal' ā $\check{\chi}á$. Sometimes also it falls away in writing, e. g. אֹמָר $'ómár$ from 'a-'āmár, רִשׁוֹן $rísō'n$ from רֶ'ֶשׁוֹן $r\check{\chi}$ -'íšō'n. On the contrary in the final sound of the syllable 'ālep always loses its consonantal sound, and, for this reason, the preceding vowel must be heightened according to §. 42, 2, e. g. מַצָּא $mā\check{\chi}á$ from *maḥa'*, תִּמְצָאָנָה $tim\check{\chi}ānā$ from *tamḥa'na*.

2. VOWELS.

§. 37. In the primitive Semitic there were only the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* of which the long forms \acute{a} , \acute{i} , \acute{u} arose partly through the contraction of $a + a$, $i + i$,

$u + u$ after the elision of an intermediate y or v (§. 32), partly through compensative lengthening (§. 32, 2) in the same way also קִטְּוֹר *qîtô'r* from *qittôr* and the po'êl, which has arisen from the pi'êl, partly through the lengthening of the tone-syllable in *nominal*¹ forms, to which the participles and infinitives belong. These lengthened forms always belong to the primitive Semitic period, while the heightened forms first owe their origin to the peculiar development of the Hebrew. All final consonants except in the imperative, the apocopated future, and the 3. fem. sing. of the perfect, were followed by a vowel or, in the *status abs.* of the masc. sing. and fem. sing. and plural, by a vowel with a nasal. According to the Hebrew laws of final sound all these short final vowels fall away, together with the nasal of the *status absolutus*, while the long vowels remain. Comp. אָבִן 'āβ = Arabic 'abun or 'abin according to §. 38 for 'abîn, but in the *status constructus* אֲבִי 'ăβî = Arabic 'abî. A preceding v , y , according to §. 32, 3, Rem., was elided² even in old Semitic where it originally stood between vowels. This law of the final sound affords the reason why the *present Hebrew final syllable is not treated as closed, and hence is not regarded as unchangeable.* The few cases,

¹ E. g. in the participle קִטְּוֹל *qô'têl* = *qâtîl*, of which the earlier form according to §. 2, Rem., was *qatal*, like the perfect. That the nominal forms are frequently discriminated in primitive Semitic from the verbal forms through the lengthening, and in Hebrew through the heightening of the vowel of their tone-syllable, is occasioned by the stronger emphasis, which rests in all languages upon the nominal forms.

² The n of the affix *ô'n* also disappears in Hebrew proper names, comp. אֲבִדּוֹ 'ăβaddô for 'ăβaddôn, שִׁלּוֹ 'šîlô' for šîlôn, but it returns when a second affix is added, comp. שִׁלְוֵי Neh. xi, 5. See §. 80.

in which an original short final vowel remains are to be specified in the doctrine of forms. These final vowels are protected through the joining on of suffixes, and have retained their existence under the inexact name of *connecting vowel*. Comp. קָטָלָנִי qēṭālānī, Arabic and original qatala-nī, אַבְדֵּךְ-כֶּם 'aβdē-χém, Arabic and original 'abdu-kum.

§. 38. Among the few vocal laws of the primitive Semitic the following should be especially emphasized, that *a long vowel which was in an originally closed syllable must be shortened*. The short vowel which has thus arisen can remain in Hebrew according to §. 42 only in unaccented syllables, while in accented syllables *i*, *u* must be reheghtened to \bar{e} , \bar{o} and only *a* can remain short. Comp. יָאֲדֹמָה yāqú'm = original ya-qú-mu, on the other hand וַיֵּאָדֹמוּ vay-yá-qom, original va-ya-qum, on account of the accent reheghtened to וַיֵּאָדֹמוּ yā-qóm = original ya-qum, after the same analogy וַיֵּבִין yāβín = ya-bí-nu, וַיֵּבִין yā-βén = va-ya-bin, וַיֵּבִין yāβén = ya-bin, וַיֵּבִין qám = qá-ma = qa-va-ma, וַיֵּבִין qám-tā for qám-ta from qa-vam-ta, וַיֵּבִין 'āšát = 'ašat for 'ašat from 'ašarat.

§. 39. The Hebrew vowels are divided into 1) *originally long*, to which besides \acute{a} , \acute{i} , \acute{u} belong \acute{o} , which has arisen partly from \acute{a} , partly from $a + v$, $a + u$; \acute{e} from $a + y$, $a + i$ and $\acute{á}$ likewise from $a + y$, comp. §. 33. They are externally recognizable since, with the exception of \acute{a} they are almost always indicated through *scriptio plena*, with \imath or \imath . 2) *Short vowels*: a , i , u together with e from i , and o from u . 3) *Heightened*: \bar{a} and $\bar{á}$ from a , \bar{e} from i , \bar{o} from u . 4) *Vocalized*: \check{e} from all the short vowels, \check{a} from a , \check{e} from i , \check{o} from u . The two last classes, which do

not yet exist in the Arabic, have always arisen from the second.

§. 40. The original long vowels are unchangeable in Hebrew, except the case in §. 38. However *â* is very often obscured to *ô*, comp. דֹר *dôr* = *dâr* = *darar*, נָאֻמ׳ *nāqôm* = *naqâm* = *naqam* (§. 32, 2), מַטְאֻף *māṭôṭ* = *matâṭ*, קֹטֵל *qôṭêl* = *qâtîl*. The pure sound remains less often, as in קָמ׳ *qâm* from *qavama*, כִּטָּב׳ *kêṭab* = *kitâb*, סָר׳ *sâr* = *savar*. This *ô* is sometimes deepened to *û* through the removal of the accent, comp. מְחֻשְׁטָן׳ *mêḥûṣṭân*, נְחֻמְוֹ׳ *neḥûmôṭ*. On the other hand through a misunderstanding of the language, in the case mentioned in §. 38, it is confounded with the *ô*, which has arisen from *u*, and it is shortened to *u*, or relatively reheightened to *ô*. Comp. נְחֻשְׁטָן׳ *neḥûṣṭân* from *nahôṣtan* = *nahâs-t-an*, heightened according to §. 42 to נְחֻשׁ׳ *neḥûṣ*(e) = *nahûṣ-t* = *nahôṣ-t* = *nahâs-t*, likewise שְׁלוֹשׁ׳ *šâlôṣ* = *šalâs*, from which the fem. שְׁלוֹשׁ׳ *šêlôṣ*(e) = *šaluṣ-t*, אֵי׳ *'e* = *'it* = *'ut* = *'ôt* = *'ût* = *'áyat* = *'avay-at*. On the contrary *î* and *û* remain almost entirely unchanged, except through §. 38. Comp. צַדִּיק׳ *ṣaddîq*, קֻטֵּל׳ *qûṭêl*.

§. 41. The short vowels remain unchanged: 1) in sharpened syllables, when the sharpening is not merely euphonic (§. 26, 5), comp. אֲדִירֵהֶם׳ *'ad-dî-rê-hêm*, on the contrary חִזְזֵהֶם׳ *hiz-zâ-yô'n*, *stat. constr.* חִזְזֵהֶם׳ *he-zê-yô'n*. 2) Generally in all originally closed syllables (therefore with the exception of the final syllables according to §. 37), e. g. מַלְבֻשֵׁהֶם׳ *mal-bû-šê-hêm*. Of course the immutability ceases, when the syllable in Hebrew is no longer closed through the elision of an 'Aleph (§. 36) or the insertion of an auxiliary vowel e. g. מַרְטֻן׳ *mâ-r(e)* from *mar-tun*. 3) The *syllabae dagessan-*

dae the sharpening of which cannot take place on account of a guttural final sound, participate in the immutability of the first class, e. g. בֵּרַק־תּוּם *bē-rax-tém* for *bir-rak-tum*, בּוֹרַק־תּוּם *bō-rax-tém* for *bur-rak-tum*, יֹבַר־רִיכּוּנָא (יֹבַר־רִיכּוּנָא) *yǒ-βā-rǔ-χú'* for *yu-bar-ri-kú-na*. Comp. §§. 28. 29.

§. 42. In all other cases the short vowels are subject to the following changes. Through heightening¹ *a* is changed to *ā* or *ā̄*, *i* to *ē*, *u* to *ō* 1) in an *accented closed syllable*, and indeed always with *i* and *u* (comp. כַּבִּידָא *kāβēd̄* = *kabida*, קַטּוֹנָא *qātōn* = *qaṭuna*, זַאֲקִינּוּם *zāqēn* = *zaqinum*, יַאֲקִטּוּלָא *yiqṭōl* = *yaqṭulu*), with *a* for the most part only in the pause and in the *stat. abs.*, while this vowel otherwise usually remains short. Comp. דַּבְּרָא *dāβār* = *dabarun*, but the *stat. cstr.* דַּבְּרָא *dēβar* = *dabaru*, further קַטָּלָא *qātāl* = *qaṭala*, שַׁבְּבִי *sābbū*. Other short vowels in accented closed syllables are only the *i* in יִם *'im* and יִם *'im*, as well as the *e*, which has arisen from *i* = *u*, in pronouns and suffixes of the 2. and 3. persons plural.² 2) Further the open *tone syllable* is heightened (Exceptions in §. 45), e. g. שׁוּסָא *sūsā* from *sūsāt*, חַרְעָא *hā-'ā-r(e)ç*, אַרְעָא *'ā-r(e)ç* from *'arçun*, סִיפּוֹרָא *sē-φ(e)r* from *sip-run*, קוֹדְשׁוֹן *qō-δ(e)š* from *qud-šun*, יַלְלָא *yǐl-ā̄* from

¹ The heightening is merely a mechanical strengthening of the vowel through an *a*, which is placed before it and which finds its complete analogy in the Indo-Germanic *Guna* and the pronunciation of vowels in new high German and modern English.

² Olshausen accepts for such forms, as שׁוּסְחָא *'attem*, שׁוּסְחָא *sūschem* etc. the heightened sound *ā̄* (from *a*) and appeals to the anomalous instances of vocalization in Ezechiel (§. 7); nevertheless his position is contradicted by the contraction of *bā-hēm* to בָּאָם *bām*, the forms *hēm*, *hēn*, the Samaritan pronunciation and the analogy of all the other Semitic languages.

yagla[vu]. 3) The open syllable before the tone is also mostly heightened (exceptions in §. 43), e. g. לִשְׁבַּל *mā-sāl* from *ma-sa-lun*, לִבְבַּל *lē-βāβ* from *li-ba-bun*, לִלְבַּל *qā-tāl* from *qa-ta-la*, 4) but the second syllable before the tone is very rarely heightened e. g. in לִשְׁבַּל 'ā-nō-χī', לִלְבַּל *qā-tē-lū'*, and before the perfect with *vav consecutivum*: לִשְׁבַּל *vē-'ā-mar-tā*. Finally 5) heightening enters in the syllable after the tone, compare לִלְבַּל *qā-tāl-tā*.

§. 43. On the contrary the short vowels are volatilized to half vowels (ē, ĩ, ě, ö): 1) in the second syllable before the tone, as well as before those which are at a greater remove from it (e. g. לִשְׁבַּל *qē-tā-lō'* from *qaṭalahū*, לִבְבַּר *dē-βā-rī'* from *dabarī*, לִבְבַּר *dē-βā-rīm*, לִלְבַּל *qē-tū-līm*, לִלְבַּל *qē-tū-lē-hém*); 2) in some cases also in the fore-tone syllable, namely a) throughout in the *status constructus*, e. g. לִבְבַּר *dē-βār*, לִבְבַּר *yē-mē'*, לִבְבַּר 'ā-çū' *sē-mō'*, because the first member of the *status constructus* only possesses a secondary accent, b) in some nominal forms especially with *i* or *u* (in general *i* is often, *u* almost always volatilized in an open fore-tone syllable), e. g. לִלְבַּל *qō-tē-līm* from *qātilim*, לִבְבַּר *hāçī* from *hiçyun*, לִבְבַּר *hō-lī'* from *hulyun*, לִבְבַּר 'ā-rī' from 'aryun; c) in the verbal forms לִלְבַּל *qā-tē-lā'*, לִלְבַּל *qū-tē-lū'*, לִבְבַּר *yiq-tē-lū'*, d) before the suffixes *kā*, *kém*, *kén*, comp. לִבְבַּר *sū-sē-χā'*, לִבְבַּר *sū-sē-χém*.

§. 44. Since two half vowels are not allowed to follow each other in Hebrew, the syllable before the volatilized vowel can retain its short vowel e. g. לִבְבַּל *bi-nē-çól*, לִבְבַּר *di-βē-rē'*, לִבְבַּר *di-βē-rē-hém*, לִבְבַּר *bi-rē-χō'*. It is heightened only in the forms לִלְבַּל *qā-*

$t\check{e}$ - $l\acute{a}$, קָלָה qa - $t\check{e}$ - $l\acute{u}$ ' and mostly before the suffix \check{e} - $\chi\acute{a}$, e. g. דְּרֵי-רֵי $d\check{e}$ - $\beta\bar{a}$ - $r\check{e}$ - $\chi\bar{a}$, yet also שִׁי-מֶ- $\chi\acute{a}$.

§. 45. Moreover short vowels occur in open syllables only 1) in the suffix \acute{a} - $n\acute{i}$, e. g. קָלָה $q\check{e}$ - $t\bar{a}$ - $l\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{i}$; 2) before the old accusative ending \bar{a} , e. g. מִדְּ-בָרָה $m\acute{i}\delta$ - $b\acute{a}$ - $r\bar{a}$, in which cases accented a remains in an open syllable; 3) with monosyllabic nominal stems of *mediae gutturalis* or $y\acute{o}\delta$, which on account of §. 52 have taken an auxiliary vowel, because this auxiliary sound is not yet regarded as a full vowel which can form a syllable. Comp. נָחַל $n\acute{a}h(a)l$, בָּיַת $b\acute{a}y(i)\bar{t}$, such feminines also as שֹׁמֵרֵי $\acute{s}\acute{o}m\acute{a}'(a)\bar{t}$ from $\acute{s}\acute{a}m\acute{a}'t$ follow the same analogy. Unheightened forms as יִיֶּבֶן $y\acute{i}\beta(e)n$, יִירֶב $y\acute{i}r(e)\beta$ stand in the apocopated future together with heightened forms, as יִיָּבֵן $y\bar{a}\bar{y}(e)l$, יִיָּרֵב $y\bar{e}r(e)\beta$ from $yabn[a]$, $yagl[a]$, $yarb[a]$. On the contrary the short vowel always remains 4) when the following half vowelled auxiliary sound has only been inserted to facilitate the pronunciation of a guttural, according to §. 55, even if this, according to §. 56, becomes a full vowel, because these auxiliary sounds originated too late, to affect the laws of the vowel sound. Comp. יָאֲמֹד $y\acute{a}'(a)\bar{m}\acute{o}\delta$ from $y\acute{a}'mudu$, יֵהֵךְ $yeh(\acute{e})-z\acute{a}q$ from $yahzaqu$, יָאֲלֵה $y\acute{a}'(a)\bar{l}\acute{e}$ from $y\acute{a}'la[yu]$, נֵאֲרֹה $n\acute{a}'(a)\bar{r}\acute{o}$ from $n\acute{a}'ra-h\acute{u}$, יִפְּלֵה $p\acute{o}'(\acute{o})\bar{l}\acute{e}$ from $pu'li$, further יֵאֲמֹד $y\acute{a}'(a)\bar{m}\acute{e}-\delta\acute{u}$ ($y\acute{a}'mud\acute{u}na$), יֵהֵךְ $yeh(e)-z\check{e}-q\acute{u}'$ ($yahzaq\acute{u}na$), יָאֲלֵה $y\acute{a}'(a)l$ from $v\acute{a}y\acute{a}'l[a]$, יֵהֵךְ $n\acute{a}'(a)\bar{r}\check{e}-\chi\acute{e}m$, יִפְּלֵה $p\acute{o}'(o)\bar{l}\check{e}-\chi\acute{e}m$.¹

¹ *It is certainly questionable whether such forms as יֵהֵךְ, יִפְּלֵה should not be pronounced $p\acute{a}'\acute{o}l\acute{i}$, $p\acute{a}'\acute{o}l\check{e}\chi\acute{e}m$, since Metheg seems incompatible with Qāmeç $h\acute{a}\check{t}\check{u}\check{z}$, and the Babylonians write these forms without the small line which is the sign of the short vowel. See Delitzsch in his preface to "Libri Iobi", ed. Baer, Lipsiae 1875, p. vi.

§. 46. Independently of the exceptions given in §. 44 and 45 *short vowels can only stand in unaccented closed syllables*. Only *a* can remain short in all closed syllables (§. 42). If the short vowel retains its character, *u* (except in a sharpened syllable) is almost always modified to *o*, *i* frequently to *e*. Comp. וַיָּקֹם *vay-yá-qom* (*va-ya-qum*), וַיָּבֵן *vay-yá-βen* (*va-ya-bin*), קִדְשֵׁי *qod-ší'* (*qudši*), הֵפְצִי *heḫ-ḫí* (*hip-ḫí*), וְזִזְ *'uz-zó'*, סִפְרוֹ *siḫ-ró'*. The vowel *a* very frequently becomes *i* especially in a sharpened syllable and in the case of §. 44: קִטְלֵל *qittél*, Arabic *qattala*, בְּרִי *bit-tí'* from בָּרַב *buḫ*, דִּבְרֵי *di-βǔ-ré'* from *dabaray*.

§. 47. The following vowel scheme is derived from the foregoing rules: 1) *a* remains unchanged in an originally closed syllable, 2) becomes *i* a) before the sharpening (§. 46), b) in open syllables before half vowels (§. 44 and 46) and in all other cases¹; 3) it is volatized in the second open syllable before the tone, and in the pretonic syllable of the *status constructus*; 4) it is heightened a) to \bar{a} in the closed tone-syllable of the *status absolutus* and in the open pretonic syllable, b) to \bar{a} in the monosyllabic nominal forms of the *tertiæ v, y* and in the future and participle of the stems of the same class of verbs. — The vowel *i* more seldom retains its sound, since it generally becomes *ó*, which according to §. 40 can pass over into *ú* and *u* (*o*).

¹ The above-mentioned *i* shares the same fate as the original *i*, e. g. יְחִבָּשׁ *yehbás* = *yihbás* = *yahbás*, יַעֲדֵם *ye-ḏé-ḫém*, יַבֹּשׁ *yē-βó's* = *yí-bóš* according to §. 42, 3, = *ya-bás* = *yabvás* according to §. 32, 2. The remarkable transition of *i*, which has arisen from *a*, to *i* in the hi'qil has perhaps originated according to an erroneous analogy from the conjugation of the verbs *mediae v, y* where this *i* is phonetically legitimate.

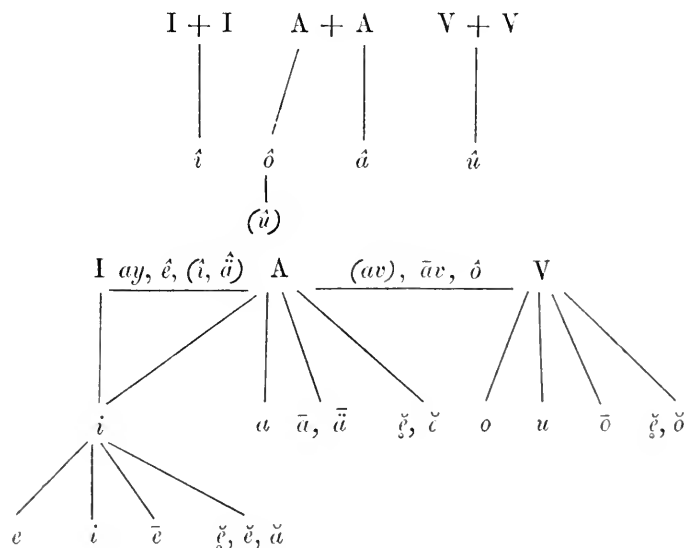
§. 48. The vowel *i*, a) almost always remains unchanged in a closed, unaccented syllable (§. 46); b) if no sharpening follows, it often becomes *e*. c) It undergoes volatilization in an open unaccented syllable, not unfrequently also before the tone (§. 43). d) It is heightened to \bar{e} in the tone-syllable and often in the open pretonic syllable (§. 42). — *i* always remains unchanged, in such forms except as $\text{נִּיִּיְמִ} \text{ } n\ddot{e}qiyym' = naqiy'm$, where it becomes *iy*.

§. 49. The vowel *u*, a) scarcely ever remains unchanged except in a sharpened syllable (§. 41), b) almost always becomes *o* in a toneless closed syllable (§. 45 fin.); c) becomes volatilized in an open unaccented syllable (§. 43), and d) is heightened to \bar{o} in an accented (§. 42). Sometimes it passes over into *i* (*e*, \bar{e}), thus in the imperative $\text{קִיְלֹ} \text{ } qit\ddot{e}l\bar{u}' = \text{Arabic } qutl\bar{u}$ (the half vowel has penetrated the Hebrew word through the false analogy of the singular form), $\text{עֵשׂ} \text{ } 'e\bar{s}$, $\text{עֵשׂ} \text{ } 'att\bar{e}m$, comp. §. 42, Remark 2. — *u* always remains unchanged.

§. 50. There are no real diphthongs in Hebrew. Original *ay*, *av* reject their consonants before a following vowel (§. 32), but if no vowel follows they are each contracted to \acute{e} and \acute{o} through vocalization ($\text{בַּיִת} \text{ } b\acute{e}t = bayt$, $\text{סִישׁ} \text{ } s\acute{i}se' = s\acute{i}say$, $\text{הַיִּתְּ} \text{ } h\acute{e}t\ddot{i}\beta = hayt\ddot{i}\beta$, $\text{גֻּלְלַיְתָּ} \text{ } gull\acute{e}'\bar{a} = gullayta$, $\text{מַרְתָּ} \text{ } m\acute{o}\bar{s} = mart$, $\text{נָוֶלָד} \text{ } n\acute{o}l\acute{a}\delta = navlad$, $\text{חַוְלִיד} \text{ } h\acute{o}l\acute{i}\delta = havl\acute{i}\delta$). The mixed vowel \acute{e} is in several forms thinned to *i* ($\text{גַּלְיָתָּ} \text{ } g\acute{a}l\acute{i}'\bar{a}$ from *galayta*) and appears sometimes to change its place with \hat{a} ($\text{גֻּלְלָנָה} \text{ } g\acute{e}l\acute{l}\bar{n}\bar{a}$, $\text{תִּגְלָנָה} \text{ } t\acute{i}g\acute{l}\bar{n}\bar{a} = taglayna$, comp. §. 33). The combination $a + i$ always becomes \acute{e} , $a + u$ \acute{o} ($\text{מַרְתָּ} \text{ } m\acute{o}\bar{s} = marita$, $\text{בָּוֶשׁ} \text{ } b\acute{o}\bar{s} = baruša$, $\text{לוֹ} \text{ } l\acute{o} = lah\acute{u}$). — The combinations *ay*, *av* seldom remain (e. g. $\text{בַּיְתָּ} \text{ } b\acute{e}t$).

šālávî, שָׁלָוִי *šaddáy*, which is heightened in the pause שָׁדָדַי *šaddáy*, likewise אָנָוִי (*ánáv*). It remains for the most part before original doubling (§. 34, 3) and in the *status absolutus* of monosyllabic nouns, where *ay*, *av* through the adoption of an auxiliary vowel become *áy(i)*, *áv(e)*. Compare בַּיִת *báy(i)* = *bayt*, מַרְוֵה *máv(e)* = *mart*.

§. 51. The above may be represented in the following table of vowels:



The Latin uncial letters are chosen for the original Semitic in order to include *y*, *v*. The brackets indicate less common transitions of sound.

§. 52. Since a biconsonantal ending is only allowed in the few vowel combinations mentioned in §. 30; it is frequently necessary in Hebrew that after the

falling away of the old final vowels (§. 37) an auxiliary vowel should enter between the two new final consonants, and indeed most commonly an *e* with the heightening of the preceding vowel according to §. 42, 2, whereby *a* (except in the stems mediae *v* and in the pause) does not become heightened to \bar{a} , but to $\bar{ä}$.

Comp. מַרְטוּנָה *mār(e)ṣ* from *martun*, אַרְצוֹן *'ār(e)ṣ* from *'arṣun*, סִפְרוֹן *sēφ(e)r* from *siprun*, קֻדְשׁוֹן *qōḏ(e)š* from *qudšun*, קוֹטְלוֹן *qōṭāl(e)ṣ* from *qāṭal-tun*, וַיְיָרֵב *vay-yār(e)l* from *vayagl[a]*, וַיְיָרֵב *vay-yēr(e)β* from *vayirb[a]*, by the side of the unheightened form וַיְיָרֵב *vay-yir(e)β*, comp. §. 45. In the stems mediae *y*, *i* is adopted as an auxiliary vowel without heightening, e. g. זַיְטוֹן *zay(i)ṣ* from *zaytun*. In the stems mediae and tertiae gutturalis *a* becomes the auxiliary, before which in the mediae gutturalis (as well as in general when the last consonant but one is a guttural) *a* is not heightened, comp. זַרְעוֹן *zār(a)ṣ* = *zar'un*, נַחְלוֹן *nāh(a)l* = *nahlun*, נִיחָנוֹן *nēṣ(a)h* = *niḥnun*, פּוֹלוֹן *pō'(a)l* = *pu'lun*, בּוֹרָחוֹן *bōrāh(a)ṣ* = *bārahtun*. If the last of the consonants in the final sound is an *y* or a *v* it is vocalized and the preceding vowel, when standing before final *y*, is volatized, but before *v* it is heightened, when the word is a noun, comp. פֶּרְיָן *pērī* from *paryun*, יְחִיָּהּ *yḥī'* from *yihy[a]*, תּוֹחֵהּ *tōhū* from *tuhvun*, וַיְיָשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *vayyīštāhū* from *vayyīštāhv[a]*.

§. 53. *The gutturals* readily adopt an *a* instead of the other short vowels in every case (especially before them, where this vowel was originally in use at least as a collateral form). E. g. יַחְמוֹד *yahmōḏ*, יִשְׁלַח *yīšlah*, שִׁלְלוֹ *šillāh* (nevertheless מְשַׁלְלֵה *mēšallē(a)h*), יִשְׁאֵל *yīš'āq*, לַחְטוֹם *la-ḥtōm*. Yet not only the vowel *a* occurs, but also the vowel *e*, which has arisen through phonetic

retrogression from *i*, especially for the sake of rendering the first vowel unlike the one immediately following, provided it is or originally was *a*, e. g. יְהִבָּשׁ *yehbáš* from *yihbas*, *yahbas*, יְהִזָּי *yeh(ě)zā* from *yihzay*, *yahzay*. Pašah furtive is inserted between a long, or even in some cases a heightened vowel, and final *h* ' *h* e. g. רִוּחַ *rú(u)h*, יָדֹעַ *yādú(a)'*, עֶלֹא *'eló(a)h*. — The half guttural *r* does not have so strong a preference for *a*, yet e. g. וַיַּיָּר *vayyar*' occurs together with יִיר'וּ *yir'ú* and even the *fut. apocop.* הִיפ'וּל *hiφ'il* וַיַּיָּסַר *vayyásar* together with *věyásar*, shortened from יָוִסִיר *yāsi'r*. — The stems *tertia* *r*, *y* and a part of the stems *primae* *n*, *primae* *v*, *y* and *tertia* *'uleφ* manifest a decided preference for the forms with *a*.

§. 54. A half vowel under the gutturals (except *r*) always becomes *šěvā compositum* so that if the original vowel was *a*, it is changed to *ǎ*, if *i*, to *ě*, if *u*, to *ö*. Comp. אֲרִי *'arí* from *ary*, עֶלֹא *'eló'(a)h* from *'ilá'h*, הֹלִי *hólí* from *huly*, שָׁחַטָּה *šāhūtá* from *ša-ḥatána*. If the half vowel was first inserted in Hebrew as an auxiliary sound to facilitate the pronunciation (as is the case in the transposed radical forms *qtal*, *qtil*, *qtul* = *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*), *ǎ* is chosen; *ě* is only placed after *'uleφ* and in the root *havay*, *hayay*. Comp. מֹד *'(ǎ)mód* = *'mud*, כּוֹל *'(ě)χól* = *'kul*, הַיָּה *h(ě)yé* = *hyay*.

§. 55. The Hebrew is fond of inserting a half vowel, which conforms to its predecessor, between a guttural (except *r*) and a consonant in order to render the guttural more perspicuous e. g. יְהִזָּאָק *yeh(ě)záq* = *yihzayaq*, יְהִשָּׁב *yah(ǎ)sób* = *yahšub*, הֵמִיד *he(ě)míδ* = *hěmid*, יָאִמִּיד *yá(ǎ)míδ* = *yámid*, הוֹרָם *hoḥ(ö)rám* = *huhram*, נָרָה *ná(ǎ)ró* = *nárahú*, פּוֹלִי *pó(ö)lí* = *pulí*.

This half vowel can be left out especially after *h*, e. g. *יְחִזְקֵךְ* *yehzâq*, *יְחַשְׁבֵךְ* *yahšôb*.¹

§. 56. This half vowel which originated in Hebrew must according to §. 44. when followed by another half vowel, become a full short vowel. E. g. *נֶעְרַבְמֵךְ* *na-(a)rě-χem*, *פֹּעֵלְךָ* *po-(o)-lě-χâ*, *יְחִזְקֵךְ* *yeh(e)-žěqû'*, *יְחַשְׁבֵךְ* *yah(a)φěχû'*, *יֹשֵׁבְךָ* *yo-(o)žěđû'* together with *יְחִזְקֵךְ* *yeh-žěqû'*, *יְחַשְׁבֵךְ* *yahšěžû'*, comp. §. 55.

§. 57. The vowels *ě*, *e*, which have arisen according to §§. 54—56, are often simplified to *ă*, *a*, when the tone is moved forward, since *a* as a simple sound is shorter than the mixed sound *e* from *a* + *i*. Comp. *אֵלַי* '*ělé*' from *ilay*, with *אֵלֶיכֶם* '*ălěχém*', *הֵעֵמְדֵתִי* *he'(ě)-mádti*, with *וְהֵעֵמְדֵתִי* *věha'(ă)măđ-ti'*, *יֵשֶׁר* *ye'(ě)sôr*, with *יֵשֶׁרֶה* *ya'(a)sěřû'hâ*.

§. 58. In composition the prepositions retain according to §. 44 their short vowel and are not volatilized, when a half vowel follows. Comp. *בִּי-פֶרֶרִי* *bi-φěri'*, *לִי-פֶרֶרִי* *li-φěri'*, *הַמְעַת* *ha-mě'at*. The short vowel before a compound *šěvā* is assimilated to it (the reverse occurs in the inflection according to §. 55), comp. *לֵא-רִי* *la'-ări*, *לֵא-חֹלִי* *le'(ě)χól*, *לֹ-חֹלִי* *lo-hól'i*.

§. 59. The elision of a vowel, except at the end of a word, occurs only rarely in Hebrew. The

¹ The auxiliary vowel *a* which is inserted between *ç*, *h* and *d*, *t* when at the end of a word, is of still later origin and cannot effect any aspiration (§. 24), comp. *שָׁלַחְתָּ* *šalah(at)*, *יָחַד* *yih(a)d*. — A series of new syllables arises in Hebrew as follows, 1) the transposed forms *qtal*, *qtıl*, *qtul* receive a half vowel in order to render the pronunciation possible, compare §. 54, 2) the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl* form their plural from *qatal*, *qital*, *qutal*.

elision of the vowels in the cases mentioned in §. 26, 2 and §. 61 was characteristic even of the primitive Semitic. Yet such forms as בִּרְכָה *bir-káḏ* from *barakat* occur. Such gerundial infinitives as לִנְפֹל *li-npōl*, do not belong here, since the infinitive first became dissyllabic in Hebrew through the insertion of a half vowel, and those forms have preserved the original vocalization.

III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF STEMS.

§. 60. It does not lie within the province of Hebrew grammar to trace the secondary formation of roots, which entered in a pre-Semitic age, to their monosyllabic originals (§. 2). Except the pronouns nothing now remains of these original radices but fragments, which have been expanded to the present roots, and which almost always consist of three consonants.¹ On the other hand it is incumbent on us to prove two things: 1) how, in the formation of stems, themes have arisen from these secondary roots which mostly combine the nominal and verbal significations in them-

¹ The present Semitic roots have probably arisen from the original: 1) through reduplication, 2) through combination with different prefixes and affixes, which also partly occur in the formation of stems and words, comp. *האב sibi voluit, desideravit*, compounded of the reflexive prefix *ta* and the original root *ab* (in *אבר voluit*), *יכול potuit* from *wa* and *kal, kul* (in *בבל, בלבל, ברל*), 3) through a pervasive analogy, which by the insertion of an auxiliary sound rendered the remainder of the monosyllabic roots similar to the others. — The comparatively infrequent Quadri-litera have likewise arisen from the triliteral roots partly through reduplication or affixion, partly through the mere decomposition of a double consonant as in *דערסב decerpit* from *בסב*.

selves, partly through seeming internal inflection, and partly through prefixes; 2) how these stems through the prefixes and affixes in the formation of words received a definite character as nouns and verbs. Finally another stratum, as it were, in this agglutinative process is formed by suffixion in the narrower sense i. e. through the annexation of the personal pronoun in an objective (accusative) or subjective (genitive) signification.

§. 61. In the primitive Semitic, although not in the Hebrew, comp. §. 59, it was allowed, for the sake of euphony, to suppress the short vowel of a syllable on placing a prefix before it or an affix after it, unless two consonants would thus occur at the end of a syllable (§. 30). We find, for example, in the formation of roots *qatla* together with *qatala*, in the formation of stems *ma-qatala* for *ma-qatala* and in the formation of words such feminines as *qatal-ta* together with *qatala-ta*, but always only *qatla-ta*, never *qatl-ta*.

§. 62. The form *qatla*, which has arisen according to §. 61, together with its modifications *qilla* and *qutla*, can by virtue of the vague character of Semitic vowels, be transposed to *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtulu*. This transposition is occasioned either as in the imperative according to §. 30 through the falling away of the final vowel, or as in the future, according to §. 61, through a prefix. Thus arise the imperative *qtul* for *qutl*, the future *ya-qtula* and *ya-qtul* for *ya-qutla* and *ya-qutl*.

§. 63. The oldest form in which the stem of trilateral roots appears is *qatala*. It underlies the perfect and the original active participle *qal* of verbs, and is the primitive form of nouns especially of attributive adjectives and abstracts. According to the Hebrew laws

of sound this form must either become *qātāl* or *qātāl* (§. 37. 42); the former takes place in the perfect, the latter in the *status absolutus* of nouns. Comp. חָאָם *hā-χām sapuit*, חָאָם *hā-χām sapiens*, but in the *status constructus* חָאָם *hā'χām* according to §. 43. If the second or third consonant was a *v* or *y*, it was almost always elided according to §. 32, comp. קָאָם *qānu surrexit* and *surgens* = *qa[v]ama*, אַלָּה *'alā folium* = *'ala[v]a*.

§. 64. The parallel forms *qatila* and *qatula*, Heb. *qātēl* and *qātōl* according to §. 42, which are usually found in the perfect, and in the active participle of intransitive verbs, arise through the weakening of the second *a* to *i* or *u*. Compare קָרִיבָה *qārēḇ appropinquabat* and *appropinquans* = *qariba*, קָטֹן *qātōn parvus erat* and *parvus* = *qatuna*. In roots mediae *v*, *y* the *v* or *y* are elided according to §. 32; e. g. מָוֶה *mēḇ moriebatur* and *mortuus* = *ma[v]ita*, בּוֹשָׁם *bōš pudeſiebat* and *pudeſactus* = *ba[v]uša*.

§. 65. If the *a* of the first syllable was weakened to *i* the parallel form *qitala* arose, which in Hebrew in the *stat. absol.* become *qētāl* according to §. 42. Comp. לִבָּבָה *lēḇāḇ cor* = *libaba*. — The form *qutala* rarely occurs except as the plural of *qutla* (§. 70).

§. 66. The active participle *qal*, which has still retained the short vowel of the first syllable in the stems of the mediae *v*, *y* and in the intransitive verbs (§. 63, 64), lengthens it in all other stems to *ā*¹, through

¹ In general the lengthening of the vowel of the tone-syllable in primitive Semitic is just as readily employed to distinguish the nominal from the verbal forms, as the heightening of the vowel in Hebrew (§. 63).

which the forms *qātala* and *qātūla*, Heb. *qōtāl* and *qōtēl* according to §. 42. 40, arise. The latter is the common form since *a* through the preponderance of the preceding long vowel is weakened to *i*. The former is usual in the stems of the *tertiæ* *v*, *y*, and in the feminines formed according to §. 61. Comp. *זְנוּחַם* 'ólám *saeculum* = 'álama, *הוֹזֵא* *hōzā* *videns* = *hāza*[*ya*], *שׁוֹמֵא* *šômā*(*a*) *audiens* = *šāma*'-ta, *דּוֹבֵר* *dōḇēr* *loquens* = *dābira*.

§. 67. The form *qatāla*, Heb. *qātól*, which is also used as the infinitive absolute *qal*, arises from *qatala* through the lengthening of the second vowel. Compare *קָבוֹד* *kāḇōḏ* *gloria* = *kabāda*, *הִלְכוּ* *hālō'* *ambulare* = *halāka*. The usual vocal laws are applied in the stems of the *mediæ* or *tertiæ* *v*, *y*, comp. *מוֹת* *mōt* *mori* = *ma*[*r*]āta (§. 32), *רָאוּ* *rā'ō'* *videre* = *ra*'ā[*y*]a-ta, *גָּלוּ* *gālō'* *revelare* = *galā*[*r*]a. — In like manner *qatūla* and *qatūla*, Heb. *qātīl*, *qātūl* are lengthened forms of the intransitive *qatūla*, *qatūla*. from which through the relationship of the passive and intransitive significations, the latter serves as the passive participle *qal*. while the former with a like signification has more of a substantive character. Comp. *אֲסֻר* 'asū'r *captivatus* = 'a-sū'ra, *אֲסִיר* 'asī'r *captivus* = 'asira, *שָׁמ* *šum* *positus* = *ša*[*y*]ūma (§. 32), *נָקִי* *nāqī'* *innocens* = *naqīya*, but *אֲשֻׁי* 'ašūy *factus* = 'ašūra (§. 31). — The following forms arise through the modification of the first short vowels to *i* or *u*: 1) *qitāla* or *qutāla*; Heb. according to §. 43^b, *qētāl* mostly *qētōl*; 2) *qitūla*, Heb. *qētīl* and 3) *qutūla*, Heb. *qētūl*. Comp. *קִטָּב* *kīṭāḇ* *liber* = *kitāba*, *אֱלֹהִים* 'ēlō(a)h *Deus* = 'ilāha, *גִּבּוֹר* *gīḇīr* *dominus* = *gibira*, *לְבוּשׁ* *lēḇūš* *vestis* = *lubūša*. But after 'Aleφ the half vowel is readily again transformed into the full vowel *ē*. since

otherwise the syllable would be hardly audible, comp. $\text{רָזָר} \text{ 'ezô'r cingulum} = \text{'izâra}$.

§. 68. The form *qatla*, which has arisen according to §. 61, including its modifications *qitla* and *qutla*, are used in the formation of the imperative, construct infinitive and future *qal*, as follows: 1) *qutla* is the fundamental form of the usual transitives, 2) *qitla* of a class of the stems *primae v*, 3) and *qatla* not only of the intransitives, and the stems *mediae* and *tertiaie gutturalis* (see §. 53), but also of the stems *tertiaie v*, *y*, *tertiaie* $\bar{\text{Ale}}\varphi$ and the most of the *primae v*, *y*, since the changes, which these forms experienced in consequence of vocal laws, prevented them from being influenced after the analogy of the other forms and enabled them to retain the original vowel. — The imperative and the apocopated future ended even in primitive Semitic with the last consonant, while the final vowel was rejected. — The transposition *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtula* mentioned in §. 62 always occurs in the verb except a special formation in the *mediae geminatae*, and before endings, joined to the imperative and infinitive, of which the initial sound is a vowel. According to this transposition *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* become *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtula*, relatively *qtal*, *qtil*, *qtul*, which in Hebrew are changed through the insertion of an auxiliary vowel according to §. 30 to *qĕtâl*, *qĕtĕl*, *qĕtôl* provided no prefix precedes. Comp. $\text{כָּבַד} \text{ š(ĕ)kaβ jacere} = \text{škaba}$ and *jace* = *škab*, $\text{רָזָר} \text{ š(ĕ)môr observare} = \text{šmura}$ and *ob-serva* = *šmur*, $\text{רָזָר} \text{ yišmôr observabit} = \text{ya-šmura}$, but $\text{רָזָר} \text{ šom(ĕ)rûl observate} = \text{šumr-û}$ (see §. 49), $\text{כָּבַד} \text{ yâ-sôβ circumdabit} = \text{ya-subba}$ together with $\text{כָּבַד} \text{ yissôβ} = \text{ya-sbuba}$.

§. 69. In the noun the transcription to *qtala* takes

place less frequently, yet e. g. it appears in גַּבָּר *gəḅbar* *vir* = *gbara*, which is a collateral form of גַּבְרָה *gāḅ(e)r* = *gabra*. The form *qtila* occurs especially in derivatives from stems *mediae* 'Aleφ and in feminines *primae v comp.* בְּעֵר *bē'ēr puteus* = *b'ira*, דְּעָא *dē'ā scientia* = [*v*]dī'a-ta. But usually the original position *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* remains in the noun. These forms of course in Hebrew, after the falling away of the final vowel, when no affixes follow must take an auxiliary vowel mostly *e*, but before and after gutturals *a*, after Yōd *i*. In this manner the forms *qāt(e)l* (in pausa usually according to §. 21 *qāt(e)l*), *qēt(e)l* and *qōt(e)l* arise, compare מַלְכָּה *māl(e)χ rex* = *malka*, יָרְחָה *yār(a)h mensis* = *yarḥa*, סֵפֶר *sēφ(e)r liber* = *sipra*, נֶעֶף *nēφ(a)h aerum* = *niḥa*, קֹדֶשׁ *qōḏ(e)š sanctuarium* = *quḏša*, עֹפֶל *ōpō(a)l opus* = *pu'la*. The *a* is heightened to *ā* before *v*, and remains short before gutturals, as well as before *y*. Compare מָרָה *mār(e)ḥ mors* = *marṭa*, בַּיְתָה *bay(i)ḥ domus* = *bayta*, נַחַל *naḥ(a)l rivus* = *naḥla*, see §. 45. — The double consonant which has arisen from the stems *mediae geminatae* and *mediae n* must (§. 30) lose its doubling at the end of a word, e. g. הֻקָּה *ḥōq statutum* = *ḥuqqa*, אַפָּה *'aφ furor* = *'appa*, *'anpa*, יָם *yam mare* = *yamma*. A *v* or *y* as second consonant is always softened into a vowel after *i*, *u*, also after *a* with the exception, in most cases, of the *status absolutus*. The resulting long vowel is of course unchangeable. Comp. דִּין *dīn iudicium* = *diynu*, חֹרֶץ *ḥōḥ platea* = *ḥurṣa*, *st. constr.* בַּיְתָה *bē'ḥ domus* = *bayta*, *st. constr.* מֹרָה *mō'ḥ mors* = *marṭa*. As third radical consonants *v*, *y* (§. 52) are also softened into their corresponding vowels. The original vowel before *y*, except in pausa, is volatilized, before *v* it is heightened. Compare גְּדִי *gēḏi hoedus* = *gudya*, in pausa גְּדִי *gāḏi*; חֻצִי *ḥūḥ dimidium* = *ḥiḥya*, in pausa חֻצִי *ḥē'ci*; חֹלִי *ḥōli morbus* = *ḥulya*, in pausa

הָלוֹלִי *hólî*; תּוֹהוּ *tóhû* *solitudo* = *tuhva*. The duals and feminines throughout, and with rare exceptions the forms before suffixes proceed from the original stem, not from that which was changed according to merely Hebrew vocal laws. Compare מַלְכוֹת *malkó' rex ejus* = *malka-hû*, סִפְרוֹ *sipró' liber ejus* = *sipra-hû*, קֹדֶשׁ *qod-šó' sanctuarium ejus* = *qudša-hû*, מַלְכָּה *malká regina* = *malka-ta* שִׁבְיָה *šibýá = šabya-ta* from שָׁבִי *šəḇî captivitas* = *šabya*. Nevertheless the feminine is also formed in שִׁבְיָהּ *šəḇíyā* and שִׁבְיָתָהּ *šəḇíyātā* from the changed form.

§. 70. In Hebrew the stems *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* have no plural, but always derive it from the forms *qatala*, *qitala*, *qutala*. Compare מַלְכֵי *məḷāḫîm reges* = *malak-î-ma*, *st. constr.* מַלְכָּי *maləḫé* = *malaka-y*, fem. מַלְכֹּת *məḷāḫót reginae*, *st. constr.* מַלְכֹּתַי *maləḫót = malak-âta*, סִפְרֵי *səḫārîm libri* = *sipar-î-m*, *st. constr.* סִפְרֵי *sipəřé* = *sipara-y*, קֹדֶשֶׁי *qōḏāšîm sanctuaria* = *qudaš-î-m* (ö sometimes also stands after non-gutturals), *st. constr.* קֹדֶשֶׁי *qodəřé* = *qudaša-y*, יְהֹדְיִים *yəḏāyîm hoedi* = *ga-day-î-m*, חֻלָּיִם *ḥōḷāyîm morbi* = *ḥulay-î-m*. Of course those forms are excepted, which even in primitive Semitic had received a long vowel, diphthong or double consonant, and so had become unchangeable. E. g. חֻצֹּתַי *ḥūḥót = plateae* = *ḥuvç-ât*, שִׁירֵי *šîrîm cantica* = *šiyr-î-m*, אֵילִים *'ēlîm arietes* = *'ayl-î-m* from the sing. אֵיל *'ay(i)l*, חֻקִּים *ḥuqqîm leges* = *ḥuqq-î-m*. Forms of this kind have a dissyllabic stem only seldom in the plural, comp. שָׂרֵי *šəḫārîm tauri* = *savar-î-m* from שֹׂר *šór = šavra*, חַיָּלִים *ḥāyālîm exercitus* = *ḥayal-î-m* from חַיָּל *ḥay(i)l = ḥayla*.

§. 71. Conversely the form *qatila* often derives its *st. constr.* from *qatla*, or its transposed form *qtala* (§. 62), compare קַטִּיפָה *kāḏēḫ umerus* = *katipa*, *st. constr.*

קָתַף $kāṭ(e)φ$ = *katpa*, זָקֵן $zāqēn$ *senex* = *zaqina*, *st. constr.*
 זָקַן $z(ē)qan$ = *zqana*.

§. 72. Several nouns which are frequently used (as פֶּה $pā$ *os*, *st. constr.* פִּי pi , דָּג $dāγ$ *piscis*, דָּם $dām$ *sanguis*, בֶּן $bēn$ *filius*, בַּת $baṭ$ = *ban-t filia*, עֵץ $ēṣ$ *lignum*, רֵעַ $rē(a)$ *amicus*, יָד $yād$ *manus*, שֵׁם $šēm$ *nomen*) always appear with only two stem-consonants, others (as אָב $āβ$ *pater*, *st. constr.* אָבִי $āβi$, אָח $āḥ$ *frater*, *st. constr.* אָחִי $āḥi$) indicate only in some forms traces of a third consonant. It seems however that one must consider these nouns as belonging to a class which already at a very early period lost its third consonant, but not as the remnants of original monosyllabic and bi-consonantal roots. Such remnants occur, except in the pronoun, only in the *pilpēl*, where the monosyllabic primary root became a quadriliteral through doubling and as such could also maintain its existence in the later trilateral period of the language (§. 73).

§. 73. The forms, which have arisen from the reduplication of the root and which are cognate with the *pi'el*, are common to the noun as well as the verb. Actual repetition of the entire root in its original monosyllabic form appears in the *pilpēl*, which in some of the stems *med. v* and *med. gemin.* takes the place of the *pi'el*. Comp. כָּלְכָל $kalkēl$ *nutrire*, כִּלְכִיל $kil-kēl$ *nutrivit* = *kul-kila*, *kil-kila*, in the passive כֻּלְכַל $kul-kāl$ *nutriebatur* (present secondary root כוּל), גָּלְגַל $gal-gāl$ *rota* (present root גלל). Through an abbreviation of the root the reduplicated form *qatal-tala* arose, comp. שָׁחַרְחַר $šəḥarḥar$ *pulpitarit* = *saḥar-ḥara*. In the stems *med. v*, *y* the still more abbreviated form *qatlala* stands for the *pi'el*, e. g. מוֹרְרַר $mōrēṣ$ *interficere* and *interfecit*

= *mar-t-ita*, pass. רוֹמָם *rómám exaltabatur* = *rarm-ama*, שָׁנָנָה *ša'(ü)nán quietus* = *ša'n-ana*.

§. 74. The fundamental form of the pĪ'ĒL and its cognate nouns *qattala* (Hebr. *qattál*) has probably arisen from *qatlala*. It occurs unchanged in the infin. constr., imperat. and fut. pĪ'ĒL of the stems *tert. gutt.* and *tert. v, y, e.* g. שָׁלַחְתִּי *šalláh mitte* = *šallah* and *mittere* = *šallaha*, which is weakened to *qattila* (Hebr. *qattél*) in the same verbal forms in other roots, comp. דָּבַר *dab-bér loquere* = *dabbir* and *loqui* = *dabbira*. In the perfect of the pĪ'ĒL the form is *qittala* or *qittila* (Hebr. *qittál, qittél*), the latter of which in nouns indicates abnormal characteristics. Comp. שִׁלַּחְתִּי *šilláh emisit*, דִּבַּר *dibbér loquebatur* = *dibbira*, עִרְוֵה *'irvēr coecus* = *'irvira*. The passive has *quttala*, comp. שִׁלַּחְתִּי *šulláh mittebatur*. — The form *qátila*, pass. *qátala* (Hebr. *qótél, qótál*) which takes the place of the pĪ'ĒL in the stems *med. gemin.* appears to have arisen through compensative lengthening from *qattala*, e. g. סָבַב *sôpép circumdedit* and *circumdare* = *sábiba*, סָבַב *sôpáp circumlabatur* and *circumdari* = *sábaba*. — The nominal forms are distinguished here as elsewhere through the lengthening of the second vowel, which in the *stat. cstr.* is still sometimes short. Thus arises the form *qattála*, which serves in the pĪ'ĒL as an *infin. absol.*, and which in nouns expresses habitual characteristics, Hebr. *qattál*, in the infin. *qattól*. Comp. גָּנַב *gannáp fur*, בָּרַךְ *bāró'á benedicere* = *barráka*. *Qittála* (Hebr. *qittól*, comp. גִּבּוֹר *gibbór heros* = *gibbára*) appears as a collateral form, from which through compensative lengthening instead of the doubling the form *qítála* (Hebr. *qítól*) arose, comp. קִטְוֵר *qítór fumus* = *qítára* = *qittára*. The form *quttála* is used for the infin. absol. of the passive (Hebr. *quttól*, comp. גָּנַב *gunnóp jurto abstrahi* = *gunnába*). — If the second

vowel was already weakened to *i* or *u* the forms *qattîla* and *qattûla* also *qittûla* arose through lengthening. Comp. קַדְדִּי'ק *qaddî'q* *justus*, חַנּוּנִין *ḥannûn* *misericors*, שִׁקְוֹ'שׁ *šiqqu'š* *abominatio*.

§. 75. The prefixes of the stem-formation *ha*, *hin* (*na*) and *hit* are common to the noun and verb. The prefix *ha* has probably arisen from *sa* (which still appears in the Hebr. סַנְוֵרִים *sanvērîm* *coecitas* = *sanvir-î-m*, שַׁלְחָה *šalhâ(e)* *flamma* = *ša-lhab-ta*) and has a causative signification. If it is prefixed to the verbal stem the customary hiḳ'îl forms *ha-qtala* or *ha-qtîla* arise (§. 61), with the weakening of the vowel of the prefix *hi-qtala* or *hi-qtîla*, also *ha-qtîla* and *hi-qtîla* according to §. 47 remark, for the passive *hu-qtala* and *hu-qtîla*. Examples: הַרְבֵּה *harbê'* *multiplica* = *hur-bay*, הִרְבָּה *hirbâ* *multiplicavit* = *hi-rba[ya]*, הַשְׁמִד *haš-mêd* *devasta* = *ha-šmid*, הִשְׁמִד *hišmîd* *devastavit* = *hi-šmîda*, לִשְׁכַּל *liškal* *lapsus est* = *hu-kšala*, בְּיָמֵי *bêyâmê* *templum* = *ha-ykala*.¹ The form *ha-qtâla* (§. 7) is rare, as in הַצְּלִי *haççîlû* *salvatio* = *ha-ñçâla-ta*. Sometimes the prefix *ha* is changed to 'a, comp. אֲזָכָרָה *'azkârâ* *commemoratio* = *'a-zkâra-ta*. Other forms with prefixed 'a or 'i are probably only of euphonic origin (§. 30) or have arisen from the transposition of the vowel, comp. אַרְבַּע *'arba'* *quatuor* = *rba'a*, אֶצְבָּע *'eçba'* *digitus* = *'i-çba'a*, עֲזָרָה *'ezrâ(a)* = *'izrâ* = *zirâ'a*.

§. 76. The prefix *na*, which is employed for the niḳ'îl, appears when the following consonant retains its vowel in the form *hin*, whose *n* is always assimil-

¹ *The Assyriologists consider this not as an original Semitic, but as an Accadian word which signifies *great house*. It has however certainly been hebraized.

ated; thus arise the stems *na-qtala*, *ni-qtala*, together with *hin-qatala*, *hin-qatila*, in the *infin. absol.* also *hin-qatâla*. Comp. נִצְרָח *na'(ā)râç timendus = na'raça*, נִבְרָח *niḥrâç benedictus est = niḥraka*, חִנְמָשָׁח *himṣāšāḥ ungi = hin-mašāḥa*, חִנְנָהֵם *hinnāḥēm misereri = hin-naḥima*, חִנְנָהֶם *hinnāḥēm dari = hin-natâna*.

§. 77. The prefix *hit* (Hebr. *hiḥ*), which has a reflexive signification, and is perhaps etymologically related to the particle *hi*, scarcely ever occurs in Hebrew except before the *pi'el* and its cognate verbal forms. Comp. חִימָהֵם *hiḥmahēm(a)h cunctatus est = hit-mah-mih*, חִינָקֵם *hiḥnakkēm se dissimulare = hit-nakkira*. The prefix *ta* before nominal forms appears to have had another origin (§. 79).

§. 78. The prefix *ma* only belongs to the nominal formation. It has an indefinite signification and is identical with the affix of the vocable formation which has the same sound. Before the simple stem it commonly indicates the action, the place or the instrument. Thus arise the forms *ma-qtala*, *ma-qtila*, *ma-qtula*; *mi-qtala*, *mi-qtila*, *ma-qtâla*, *mi-qtâla*, *ma-qtûla*. Comp. מַחְמָד *maḥmâd desiderium = ma-ḥmada*, מִדְבָּר *miḏbâr desertum = mi-dbara*, מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbē(a)ḥ aru = mi-zbiḥa*, מִקְלוֹל *miqlól perfectio = mi-klâla*, מַלְבֹּשׁ *malbúš vestis = malbúša*. — The same prefix *ma* before the stem which has been doubled or increased through *ha*, *hit* (*pi'el*, *pa'el*, *pilpël*, *hiç'il*, *hiḥpa'el* and their passives) serves to indicate the participle, but is then weakened to *mu*, which in Hebrew is volatilized to *më*. After it the *h* of *ha* or *hit* is elided. Comp. מְדַבֵּר *mëḏabbēr loquens = mu-dabbira*, מְבֹרָח *mëḥḇōrâç benedictus = mu-burraka*, מְמַדְּעֵם *mëmôḏēḏ interficiens = mu-mart-ita*, מְחַרֵּם *məḥ(ā)rîm anathematizans = më-ha-ḥrîm*, pass.

מִחְרָם *moh(ō)rām* = *mǔ-ho-ḥram* = *mu-hu-ḥrama*, מִחְרָתָא
mīḥ-yallēd *registro inscriptus* = *mǔ-ḥiḥ-yallēd* = *mu-hit-*
vallida, מִחְרָתָא מִחְרָתָא *mīḥmahmū(a)h cunctans* = *mǔ-ḥiḥ-mah-*
mēh = *mu-hit-mah-miha*.

§. 79. Probably *ya* and *ta* should be regarded as petrified prefixes of the vocable formation, which usually only occur before the future to indicate the third person masc. and fem., but which have in some cases maintained their existence as nominal prefixes from a period when as yet there was no sharp distinction between the noun and verb.¹ The last vowel is not unfrequently lengthened, as in Arabic, for the sake of distinguishing these forms from those of the future, comp. יַצְחֹר *yīḥūr oleum* = *ya-ḥara*, יַלְקֹט *yal-qūt pera*, תִּדְחֹר *tīḥūr abies* = *ta-dhara*, תַּצְמֹל *taḥmūl retributio*, from the *hiḳ'il* תִּדְא *tōdā laudatio* = *tǔ-ha-vdaya-t*.

§. 80. All the apparent affixes of the stems are merely petrified forms of the vocable formation. The indefinite *ma*, which usually becomes *na*, and before which the final vowel of the stem either falls away, remains, or is lengthened should be reckoned first of all under this class. Comp. סֻלָּם *sullām scala* = *sulla-m*, פִּדְיוֹן *pidyō'm solutio* collateral of פִּדְיוֹן *pidyō'n* = *pidyā-ma*, קֹרְבָן *qorbān sacrificium* = *qurba-na*, יִצְרֹן *yīḥrō'n usus* = *yatrā-na*, כְּנָעַן *kēna(a)n* = *knuē-n*. In correspondence with its origin this affix stands after the feminine ending (e. g. לִירְבָּן *liryōḥān* = *lirya-ta-na*) and falls away at the end of proper names, since these as such

¹ *For a thorough discussion of this subject see "Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur hebräischen Grammatik", Leipzig 1846, S. 121—173.

have a definite signification, comp. שִׁילוֹן שִׁילוֹן *šilō'*, שִׁילוֹנִי *šilōnī'*.¹

§. 81. The ending *ayya*, *iyya* which has arisen from the genitive of the plural (§. 90) serves in the formation of patronymics, gentiles, and other adjectives denoting a property. By appending the feminine affix *t* the ending *iyya* receives an abstract signification. The related ending *aya*, *ay* perhaps belong to the genitive sing. (§. 88). Comp. שְׂדַדַּי *šadday omnipotens* = *šadda-y-[ya]*, יְבְרִי *'ibrī'*, properly ὁ τῶν Ἰβραίων, plur. יְבְרִיִּים *'ibriyyīm* = *'ibri-y-y-ī-m*, רֵאשִׁית *rēšī'* רֵאשִׁית *principium* = *r'is-ī-t*; יִשְׂאֵ *'issā'* = *'issā-[ya]*, properly טֶסֶט *τῶν*. — Many abstracts are also formed by means of the ending *urra*, which has arisen from the nominative plur. and to which the feminine affix is united. Comp. מַלְכֻרָא *mal'kūrā* רֵגֶם *regnum* = *mala-ku-r-r-t*, plur. מַלְכֻרָאֵת *mal'kūrāyō'* רֵגֶם *malaku-r-r-āt*; the derivation of this form from the dissyllabic stem indicates that it is properly a plural, comp. §. 70.

¹ The combination of the affix *n* with the nunnation and of the affix *i* with the gen. plur. has already been made by Tegnér, "De nunnatione arabica", Lund 1865.

IV.

DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF WORDS.

1. PRONOMINAL INFLECTION.

§. 82. The personal pronoun is in Hebrew: 1. sing. אנכי 'ānōḥî' (in pausa 'ānōḥî) or אני 'ānî (in p. אני 'ānî), 1. plur. אנחנו 'ānāhnû (in p. אנחנו 'ānāhnû), rarely אנחנו nāhnû, once אנני 'ānû', 2. sing. mas. אתה or תו 'attā (p. אתה 'attū), 2. sing. fem. את 'att (p. את 'att), rarely אתי 'attî, 2. plur. mas. אתם 'attēm, 2. plur. fem. אתן 'attēn and אתנן 'attēnū (or their variations אתני, אתני and אתני), 3. sing. mas. הוא hū', 3. sing. fem. ה' hî', 3. plur. mas. הם or ה' hēm, hēm̄mā, 3. plur. fem. ה' hēnnū. Several deviating forms have been retained as suffixes and verbal endings, especially *y* = *ya* in the 1. sing. and *r* = *ra* in the 3. sing. mas., *hū* for the 3. sing. fem., *k* instead of *t* through all the forms of the second person, conversely *t* for *k* in the 1. sing., finally *tū* for the 2. plur., and *mō* for the 3. plur. mas. In the Pentateuch הוא takes the place of ה' with only eleven exceptions.¹

¹ These very difficult forms are perhaps to be understood as follows: *hū*' (comp. Arab. *hura* and the *ra* in suffixes and the

§. 83. The demonstrative is formed from the stem *za* (orig. *da*) and has in the masculine זָא $z\bar{a}$ = *za*, which in the feminine through the addition of the feminine ending *ta* becomes זָאֵת $z\bar{o}t$ (rarely זֵת , זֵת $z\bar{o}$). The form זֵת $z\bar{u}$, which has been increased through the nominative ending, is used as common to both genders. Compounded, rare collateral forms are הַלְלֹזֵזִי $hall\bar{u}z\bar{u}$ (masc.), הַלְלֹזֵזֵת $hall\bar{e}z\bar{u}$ (once, with a fem.) and הַלְלֹזֵת $hal\bar{l}\bar{a}z$ (comm.).¹ The plural is always הַלְלֹזֵתִים $'\bar{e}ll\bar{a}$, in the Pentateuch also with the article הַלְלֹזֵתִים $h\bar{u}'\bar{e}l$. The article

elements of the vocable formation) is compounded of two stems *ha* and *va*. Only in this way does it seem possible to explain the Ethiopic form (Dillmann §. 65) and the suffix *hâ* for the 3. sing. fem. The original common form was divided at a later period according to the gender, since the collateral form *ya* was used for the feminine so that a new pronoun was formed out of *ha-ya*, *hi-ya*, *hi'*. The plural added the indefinite pronominal root *ma* to the singular, the double repetition of which indicated the plural, compare especially the Phœnician suffix of the 3. plur. מַמַּ . (See Schröder, "Die phönizische Sprache", Halle 1869, §. 57.) *hû-m-ma* or *hî-m-ma* must then (§. 38) become *himma* (Hebr. according to §. 42 *hém-mā*). The discrimination of the gender through *m* or *n* is merely the employment of a collateral form for the sake of expressing a logical distinction. The true root of the 2. person is certainly *ta*, to which *an* is prefixed. The fem. was formed still later by the annexation of *hi'* after this had become a mark of the feminine gender. The plural was probably designated through the annexation of the affixes *va* (*ya*) = *u* (*i*) and *ma*, and here also at a later period by means of *m* or *n* an artificial distinction in gender was established. — In the 1. person *an* seems likewise to be a prefix. The plural is formed in a similar manner, as in the 2. and 3. person. In the suffixes and personal endings the *t* of the second and the *k* of the first person are often interchanged.

¹ *Compare Fleischer's explanation of these pronominal forms in the "Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften", 1874, S. 143.

ha (orig. *hal*) is evidently cognate with 'állü; its *l* is always assimilated to the following consonant, hence its vowel before gutturals is subject to the vocal laws contained in §. 28, 29. After the prepositions *bĕ*, *lĕ*, *kĕ*, *h* of the article is elided, see §. 35.

§. 84. The relative is generally אֲשֶׁר 'ăšér, sometimes *še* or *ša* with the doubling of the following consonant. — The interrogative and indefinite¹ is for things מָה *mā*, for persons מִי *mî* (originally a genitive). The first form appears in pausa as *mā*, and likewise before gutturals, but before *hā*, *hā*, 'ā it becomes *mā* (§. 29). Sometimes it loses its accent and is written *ma* with a real or virtual (§. 28) doubling of the following consonant; when united with prepositions both *mā* and *mā* occur, but *lāmā* is found only thrice 1 Sam. i, 8.

2. DECLENSION.

§. 85. Declension is accomplished in Hebrew through the annexation of three affixes, namely of the feminine affix *tu*, the nominative affix *va*, which was wanting in the accusative and became *ya* in the genitive, and of the indefinite *ma*, which corresponds to our indefinite article. The plural is indicated through the doubling of one of these affixes², yet doubled *ma*

¹ *According to Fleischer in the passage mentioned above the indefinite signification is earlier than the interrogative, S. 149.

² Just the same kind of formation is found in the Indo-Germanic. Comp. in Sanskrit the nom. sing. *dīvas* = *daiva-sa*, *deus hic*, nom. plur. *dēvās*, for which the Vedic still has *dēvāsas* = *daiva-su-sa*, *deus hic hic*.

never occurs in Hebrew, except in the pronominal inflection. These suffixes, as well as the final sound of the stem which precedes them, can lose the vowel. When this happens *v* and *y* are changed into their corresponding vowels *u*, *i*. In the explanation of the Hebrew forms it should always be remembered, that short final vowels fall away (§. 37), but are protected through the annexation of suffixes; further that the case-endings as such, with the exception of the local accusative, are no longer to be discriminated; and finally that the definite form, without *na*, now only stands in the *stat. constr.* and before suffixes.

§. 86. The definite masc. accus. sing. therefore represents in the noun, just as the perfect represents in the verb, the pure stem without any ending, e. g. *sûsa equum*. The indefinite form joins on its own affix which even at an early period had become vowelless: *sûsa-m equum aliquem*. Both forms must become in Hebrew *סוס sûs* (§. 37). Nevertheless many remnants of the old ending have here been retained. Before most of the personal suffixes the final *a* of the stem remains, comp. *סוסו sûsô' equus ejus = sûsa-hû*. The ending *a*, which of course is heightened, is retained to quite an extent to indicate the direction whither; sometimes also the place where. It is unaccented and effects no vowel changes. Comp. *בְּמִדְבָּרָה מִדַּמָּשְׁקַיְךָ miðbûrâ Dammâš(e)q in desertum Damasci*, *בְּיַמְמָה yâmmâ in mare = yamma*, *בְּבֵיתֵי יוֹסֵף bē'ḥûsê Jôsēp̄ in domum Josephi*. Our punctuation strangely enough almost always retains the entirely unnecessary auxiliary vowels, which have also entered according to §. 52 before the accusative endings, changing them into half vowels. Thus arise impossible forms with the tone upon the antepenult, as Gen. xix, 10 in pausa *בְּבֵיתֵי הַבְּרָרָה habbâyḡḥâ domum*, which

ought more correctly to be written **הַבַּיְתָּה** *habbáyṭā* = *halbayta*.¹ After a false analogy this ending is also joined to a plural, e. g. in **כַּשְׁדִּיָּמָה** *kašdīma ad Chaldaeos*. The indefinite accusative ending *a-m* appears partly unchanged (Hebr. *am*) partly lengthened to *á-m* (Hebr. *ó'-m*), e. g. in **יִזְמָם** *yómám interdū*, **הִנָּמָם** *hinnám gratis* = *yarma-m*, *hinna-m*, **שִׁלְשׁוֹם** *šilšó'm nudius-tertius* = *šilśá-m*. Comp. §. 80.

§. 87. The nominative ending *u* usually crowds out the preceding final *a* of the stem, and must then itself fall away in Hebrew. Thus *sūs[a]-u equus* as well as the indefinite form *sūs[a]-u-m equus aliquis* must become **סוּס** *sūs*. In some examples of the *stat. cstr.* the *a* has perhaps been retained and has been blended with *u* to a diphthong, which must then remain in Hebrew; yet the *ó* in these examples is possibly an error in the punctuation for *ú*. Comp. **מַ'יָּנָה** *ma'yēnó' fons* = *ma'-yana-u*. These forms probably belong exclusively to the language of the Pentateuch, comp. **הַיְיָוֹה** *hayē'ó* Gen. i, 24, **בְּנֹה** *bēnó* Num. xxiv, 3, 15. The first example is repeated several times in later books as a citation. Ps. cxiv, 8 is to be explained in the same way. — Before the pronominal suffixes no nominal ending can be proved with certainty.

§. 88. The genitive ending *i*, which has arisen from the nominative ending, likewise occasions the falling away of final *a*. Hence it must disappear in Hebrew not only in the definite form *sūs[a]-i, equi*, but also in the indefinite *sūs[a]-i-m equi alicujus*, so that only **סוּס**

¹ *The author here considers the consonant with Šġvā mobile as a real syllable, but this view is not sustained by the Jewish grammarians.

sûs remains. Still the ending has been retained in many cases before suffixes, comp. סוּסֵנוּ *sûsê-nû equus noster* = *sûs-i-nû*. Moreover it is several times lengthened to *î* in *stat. cstr.*, comp. עֲזִיבֵי הַצֹּאֵן *'ôzîbî haç-çõ'n, desertor gregis* = *'âzib-î*.¹

§. 89. The plural, since it is indicated through the doubling of an affix, could not be formed from the accusative, which consisted merely of the stem. The nominative plural was originally *sûsa-va-va*, and still exists in the abstract form, mentioned in §. 81, almost unchanged, since there only, as is commonly the case, the vowel standing between the two identical consonants is elided. After the affixes had lost their vowel, *u-u* became *û* before which the final sound of the stem disappeared (except once Ps. cxvi, 12 תַּגְּמוּלוֹתָי *taçmûlõtâi beneficia ejus* = *ta-gmûla-û-hû*). This ending however now exists only in the verb, since the noun uses only the genitive ending. — The indefinite nomin. plur. *sû-s[a]-u-u-ma*, the last vowel of which must remain in primitive Semitic (§. 37), has only been retained at times in the verb, and with the transformation of the *m* into *n*, comp. תִּדְבַּקְנִי *tîdakkÿ'û-nânî conculcabit me* = *tu-dakkî-u-u-ma-nî*, יָדְעוּן *yādē'ûn noverunt* = *vada'-u-u-ma*.

§. 90. The plural of the Hebrew noun is now exclusively formed through the doubling of the genitive ending. The original form of this plural was *sûsa-ya-ya*, which still appears almost completely in the adjective formation mentioned in §. 81. As a rule however both genitive affixes lose their vowel and then blend with *î* or *y*, which form a diphthong with the pre-

¹ *With reference to this Hîreq compaginis comp. Delitzsch's introduction to Ps. cxiii.

ceding vowel (Hebr. *ay*, *ê*, *ä*). The regular form is *ê*, while *ay* and *ä* only occur before some suffixes. Thus we obtain the forms סוּסַי *sûsê* equi = *sûsa-y*, סוּסַיְנו *equi nostri sûsê'nu* = *susa-y-nû*, סוּסַיְהוּ *sûsâhâ equi ejus* = *sûsay-hâ*, סוּסַיְי *sûsây equi mei* = *sûsa-y[ya]*. — In the definite form there is no external distinction between the dual and plural.

§. 91. The indefinite form assumes the suffix *ma*, which in primitive Semitic must retain its final vowel (§. 37) to hinder the shortening of the long vowel, and the identity thus arising between the singular and plural. The older formation which corresponds to the definite form has maintained itself by the insertion of an auxiliary vowel (§. 52) with the signification of the dual, comp. סוּסַיְי *sûsâ-y(i)m equi duo* = *sûsa-y-ma*, moreover in two plurals מַיְי *may(i)m aquae* and שָׁמַיְי *šamây(i)m coeli* = *šam[ay]a-y-ma*. But in the usual indefinite plural form final *a* of the stem is crowded out by the following *i*; thus arises סוּסַיְי *sûsî'm equi aliqui* = *sûs[a]-i-i-ma*. Sometimes *n* occurs instead of *m*, as in the verb, e. g. מִדְּיָן *midd-în vestes*.

§. 92. The feminine affix is *ta*, or abbreviated *t* (as in the verb), which was followed in the nom. and gen. by the affixes *u*, *i* and in the indefinite form by *m*. But according to the Hebrew law of final sound everything after *t* must fall away, with a few exceptions, e. g. acc. עֲזָרָתָהּ *'ezrâ'tâ auxiliium* = *'izra-ta*, לִיְיָתָהּ *liv-yâ'tân* = *liv-ya-ta-m*, nomin. הַיְיָתָהּ *hayjâ'tâ* = *hayya-ta-u*, gen. רַבָּתֵי *rabbâ'tî domina* = *rabbat-i* (except, of course, before suffixes, as סוּסַיְי *sûsâ'tâ equa ejus* = *sûsa-ta-hû*, סוּסַיְי *sûsâ'tâ equa nostra* = *sûsa-t-i-nû*), so that every distinction between the different *casus* and *status* disappeared. A double

feminine form however arose in Hebrew according as the final vowel of the stem preceding the affix *ta* was elided (§. 61) or not. In the latter case the form סוּסָה *sûsa* = *sûsa-ta* arose, which remains in the *st. constr.* and before suffixes. But in the *stat. absol.* since the *t* is not protected by a close connection with something following it is lost, and then the preceding *a* is heightened (§. 42), comp. סוּסָה *sûsâ* *equa aliqua* = *sû-sa[ta-m]*. If the final vowel of the stem fell away before *ta*, after *t* had become the last letter of the word according to the Hebrew laws of final sound, it was necessary that the auxiliary vowel *e* should be inserted and the preceding syllable heightened. But if the last consonant of the stem was a guttural, *a* was accepted as an auxiliary vowel and the preceding *a* remained unheightened (see the segolate forms §. 52). This manner of formation is especially frequent with participles and infinitives; it is impossible with stems which have no vowel before the final consonant. Comp. מוֹדָאֵת *môdâ'(a)* = *cognatio* = *ma-vda'-ta*, קוֹטָלֵת *qôṭāl(e)* = *interficiens* = *qâṭal-ta*; חַמִּישׁ *ḥăměš(e)* = *quinque* = *ḥam-ış-ta*, גּוּל־גּוּל *gul-gôl(e)* = *cranium* = *gul-gul-ta*. A long vowel in the last syllable of the stem must naturally be shortened (§. 38), but an *i* or *u* thus shortened was again heightened in Hebrew. Comp. שָׁהָה *šah(a)* = *fovea* = *šah-ta* = *sâh-ta* = *šavaḥ-ta*, from יֵשׁ *'iš*, *stat. estr. fem.* עֵשׂה *'ēš(e)* = *'iš-ta* = *'iš-ta* = *'inš-ta*, from נָהֲוֹשׁ *nâḥûš* dual. fem. נֶהְיֹשֶׁתַי *něḥûštay(i)m* = *nahûš-ta-y-ma*, but singular אֵשׁ *něḥôš(e)* = *nahûš-ta*. Of course no auxiliary vowel is allowable, if the preceding consonant was either assimilated to the *t*, or was an *'alep*, or if on account of Hebrew vocal laws it had already been vocalized in the masculine. Comp. אֱמָנָה *'emâ* = *veritas* = *'amat-ta* = *'aman-ta*, before suffixes אֱמִיתוֹ *'ămittô* = *'aman-ta-hû*; חַטָּאת *ḥattâ* = *peccatum* =

hattâ'-ta; שְׁבִי *šəḇî'-š* *captivitas*, from masc. שָׁבִי *šəḇî* = *šaby*. — The shorter feminine formation remains just the same in the *stat. cstr.* and *abs.*, but is sometimes appropriated by the *stat. cstr.*, when the *stat. abs.* follows the longer form, comp. שְׁבִי *'ôḫlā* (שְׁבִי) and שְׁבִי *'ôḫāl(e)š*. It still usually retains in the preceding syllable the original *a*, although it has become *i* in the masculine, e. g. קוֹטֵל *qôṭēl* = *qâtīla* fem. קוֹטֵל *qôṭāl(e)š* = *qâtal-ta*.

§. 93. The plural of the feminine was probably formed through a repetition of the feminine affix, whereby the first *t* was elided even at an early period.¹ The status and casus endings, which afterwards followed, fell away together according to the Hebrew law of final sound, so that only one form remained in use for the *stat. abs.* and *cstr.*, namely שְׂסָט *sûs-ô's* = *sûsât* = *sûsâ-[t]a-ta* or *sûsa-[t]a-ta-m*. A special ending for the indefinite form has only been retained in the verb (in the Aramaic it has also been retained in the noun, e. g. חַיָּיִן, the *stat. absol. plur.* from חַיָּיִם *animal*) since here also the second *t* was elided and only the indefinite *m*, which was changed to *n* remained. — Before suffixes the plural endings of the masculine are superadded after the feminine plural ending (comp. שְׂסָטָה and שְׂסָטָה) according to a false analogy, peculiar to the Hebrew.

§. 94. In order to designate the feminine dual, a collateral form was chosen, which indicated the plural through the repetition of the affix of the case, and

¹ In Aramaic an elision of the fem. *t* between vowels in the plural of the *stat. absol.* can be proved. Comp. Chald. מַלְכָּת *malkát reginae* = *malka[t]ata*, but מַלְכָּן *malkân reginae aliquae* = *malkátan* = *malka-ta-ta-ma*.

not the affix of the gender which was placed only once. Thus arise the forms סוּסַתַּי ¹ *sūsəṣṣé* *equae duae* = *sú-sa-ta-i-i*, before suffixes סוּסַתַּיֵנוּ *súsāṣṣénu* *equae nostrae* = *súsa-ta-i-i-nú*, in the indefinite form with the annexation of the status-affixes סוּסַתַּיִם *súsāṣṣáy(i)m* *equae duae aliquae* = *súsa-ta-y-ma*.

§. 95. The above survey shows, that while the Hebrew has retained the distinction between the genders throughout from the old Semitic declension, it has ceased almost completely to distinguish the cases, and has maintained the distinction between the *stat. absol.* and *constr.* only in the plural of the masculine and in the dual, while in the singular of the feminine it has produced a new form. Yet a few words still occur, which in the masc. sing. have retained the primitive distinction between the *stat. absol.* and *constr.*, since their definite form in primitive Semitic, ended through contraction, in a long vowel, which was shortened before the characteristic *m* of the indefinite form according to §. 38; hence while the final syllable of the *stat. absol.* was subject to the Hebrew laws of final sound, that of the *constr.* was excepted. Comp. אָבִי *'ăbí* *pater*, originally *'abí*, but *stat. absol.* אָבִים *'āb* = *'ab* = *'abim* = *'abí-m* (*'abí-ma*). In like manner אָחִי *'ăhí*, *stat. absol.* אָחִים *'āh*; סוֹכֵר *sóker* *hămí*, *stat. absol.* סוֹכְרִים *hām*; פִּי *pí* *os*, *stat. absol.* פִּיָּם *pā*, originally *pa-m*. — Another distinction is this, that the nominal stems which end in *ay* have *ā* in the *stat. absol.*, and *é* in the *constr.* e. g. נָבִיא *hōzā* *propheta*, originally *hāza[ya-m]*, *stat. constr.* נְבִיאֵי *hōzē*, the original form of which is probably a genitive *hāza[y]i*, where the short final vowel, on account of the close connection of the governing

¹ *This form however does not occur.

with the following word in the *stat. cstr.* has been retained, and blended with the preceding vowel. In Ethiopic also the short vowel of the *stat. cstr.* commonly remains.¹

§. 96. All other distinctions between the *stat. abs.* and *stat. cstr.* depend only upon the later Hebrew vocal laws. While the first open syllable before the tone in the *stat. absol.* is heightened according to a universal rule (§. 42, 43), and only the second syllable before the tone is volatilized, the first open syllable before the tone in the *stat. cstr.* must be volatilized, since it has merely a secondary accent, but the second retains its short vowel in order that two half vowels may not immediately follow one another.² (Exceptions are very rare, e. g. שְׂמֵחִים שְׂמֵחִים *šēmēḥē* laetantes = *šamiḥay* together with the regular form שִׂמְחִים *šimḥē*, רֵצָצָה *'ēzōr* cingulum = *'izāra*.) In other cases the *a* of an accented closed syllable in the *stat. cstr.* is never heightened, although this heightening generally occurs in the *stat. abs.*³, e. g. אָם *'ām* populus, *stat. cstr.* אַם *'am*. All the vowel changes of the Hebrew declension can be explained by means of these two rules. Comp. חָכָם *ḥāḫām* sapiens, primitive form *ḥakama-m*, *stat. cstr.* חָכֵם *ḥāḫām*, fem. חָכְמָה *ḥāḫāmá*, *stat. cstr.* חָכְמַי *ḥa-ḫēma*, plur. חָכְמֵי *ḥāḫāmī'm*, *stat. cstr.* חָכְמֵי *ḥāḫēmē*, plur. fem. חָכְמֹתַי *ḥāḫāmó't*, *stat. cstr.*

¹ *See Dillmann, "Grammatik", §. 144 a.

² The volatilization of the pretonic syllable even in the *st. abs.* is peculiar to the fem. form, which rejects final *a* of the stem before *t*, e. g. מְלֵאָה *mēlā(e)* (collateral form of מְלֵאָה).

³ *The noun אָם *yām*, which commonly retains its *ā* in the *stat. cstr.* with, as well as without, following maqqēf, is an exception. See Luzzatto, "Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica", Padova 1853, §. 870.

הַחֲמֹדִים *ḥaxǫmōḏ* ², dual הַחֲמֹדִים *ḥaxāmáy(i)m*, *stat. cstr.*
 הַחֲמֹמִי *ḥaxǫmē*, dual fem. הַחֲמֹמֵי *ḥaxǫmāšáy(i)m*, *stat.*
cstr. הַחֲמֹמֵי *ḥaxamǫšé*.¹ One can easily decline every
 other theme after the model, provided he observes the
 following particulars.

§. 97. According to §. 46, when *a* would neces-
 sarily remain short in an open syllable on account of a
 following half vowel, it is frequently modified to *i*, e. g.
 הַבָּרַי *di-βǫ-ré* = *da-ba-ray*; likewise in a closed, un-
 accented syllable, comp. הַזִּבְחֹת *ziβǫhó* *sacrificium ejus* =
zabḥa-hú. In both cases *u* almost always becomes *o*,
 comp. הַקְּדוֹשִׁים *qo-δǫ-šé* *sanctuaría* = *qu-da-ša-y*, הַקְּדוֹשֶׁת *qoδ-šó*
sanctuarium ejus = *qudša-hú*. On the contrary *i* (even
 the *i* which has arisen from *a*) is more rarely modified
 to *e*; most commonly only with a preceding guttural,
 possibly also with a following labial. Comp. הַעֲיָלִים *'e-*
ǫǫ-lé *vituli* = *'igala-y*, הַעֲיָלוֹת *'eǫló* *vitulus ejus* = *'igla-hú*,
 הַחֵבְלִים *ḥeβǫlé* ὁδῶνες = *hibalay*, collateral with הַחֵבְלִים *ḥa-*
βǫlé *vincula*.

§. 98. In an open pretonic syllable *u* is always
 heightened, *i* is very frequently not heightened, but volat-
 ilized, especially before and after long vowels, which
 through their ascendancy readily suppress an originally
 short vowel. For this reason and on account of their
 half verbal character this volatilization occurs mostly in
 participles and infinitives as well as in the form *qittila*.
 Comp. הַפְּרָאִים *pǫráš* = *purát*, הַקְּטָבִים *kǫšáβ* = *kitába*, הַקְּטֹלִים *qóšǫlím*
interficiētes = *qátílím*, הַמְּוָדָּעִים *mó'ǫšǫm* *congre-*
gationes = *ma-r'id-ím*.

¹ *Nevertheless both forms of the *stat. cstr.* dual are hypo-
 thetical.

§. 99. An exchange of stems (metaplasm) occurs especially in the following cases. 1) The monosyllabic nominal forms *qatl[a]*, *qitl[a]*, *qutl[a]*, always form their plural (not their dual) from the dissyllabic stems *qatal[a]*, *qital[a]*, *qutal[a]*. Comp. מַלְכָּא *māl(e)χ rex = malka*, מַלְכוֹ *malkó' rex ejus = mal-ka-hû*, but plur. מַלְכִּים *mēlāχīm = malak-îm*, *st. cstr.* מַלְכָּי *malēχē = malakay*. 2) The transposition of *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* to *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtula* sometimes takes place in the noun, regularly in the infinitive when no complete vowel follows, comp. שָׁכַב *š(ē)χaβ jacere = škaba = šakba*, שָׁמַר *š(ē)mōr custodire = šmura*, שִׁמְרָא *š(ē)morēχā = šmura-ka*, but שָׁמְרָה *šom(ē)rô' = šumra-hû* (with an inserted inorganic half vowel, see §. 49), moreover in stems *med.* 'āleφ with *i*, e. g. בְּיָרָא *b(ē)'ēr fons = b'ira = b'ra*, plur. *stat. cstr.* either בְּיָרוֹת *b(ē)'ērôš = b'ir-ât* or according to the original position בְּיָרוֹת *be'ērôš = b'ar-ât*. 3) The form *qatila* sometimes assumes in *stat. cstr.* the form *qatla*, or transposed *qtala*. Comp. קָטִיפָא *kāṭēφ umerus = katipa*, *stat. cstr.* קָטִיפָה *kāṭ(e)φ = katpa*, זָאֲנָא *zāqēn senex = zaqina*, *stat. cstr.* זָאֲנָה *zēqan = zqana*, *zaqna*. 4) The form *qattāla* dispenses with its lengthening, which probably first entered subsequently, in the *stat. cstr.* the masc. sing. and fem. plur., usually too before suffixes of the feminine plural, comp. פָּרָאשׁ *pārāš eques = parrāša*, *stat. cstr.* פָּרָאשׁ *pārāš = parraša*.

§. 100. The last consonant of the stem sometimes undergoes euphonic doubling, most frequently in the form *qatula*, to render the preceding vowel unchangeable (§. 41). Comp. זְמַנִּים *zōman-nīm tempora = zmanīm*, גַּמְלִים *gēmāllīm cameli = gamal-îm*, מִשְׁמַנִּים *mišmannīm fortes = ma-šman-îm*, אַמּוֹק *'āmōq profundus = 'amuqa*, fem. אַמּוֹקָה *'āmuqqē = 'amuqa-t*, *stat. cstr.* אַמּוֹקָה *'āmuqqāš*. — A similar euphonic doubling of the

second radical consonant occurs less frequently; it is almost exclusively confined to the *stat. abs.* Comp. רָצָא 'issâr *prohibitio* = 'isâra, חִזְיָוִן *hizyayôn visio* = *hizayân*, *stat. estr.* חִזְיָוִן *hezÿyôn*.

§. 101. Final *ay* (Hebr. \bar{a} , *stat. estr. ê*) of the stem almost always falls away before the endings of the feminine the plural and the suffixes. Comp. חִזְיָוִן *hözä* *propheta* = *hâza[ya-m]*, *stat. est.* חִזְיָוִן *hözê* = *hâza[y]i*, comp. §. 95, fem. חִזְיָוִן *hözä*, *stat. estr.* חִזְיָוִן *hözä* = *hâzaya-t*, plur. חִזְיָוִן *hözim* = *hâzay-îm*, *stat. estr.* חִזְיָוִן *hözê* = *hazay-ay*, plur. fem. חִזְיָוִן *hözô* = *hâzay-ât*, חִזְיָוִן *hözÿgâ* *propheta tuus* = *hâz[ay]a-ka*, חִזְיָוִן *hözêhû* *propheta ejus* = *hâz[ay]-i-hû*. Still single forms also occur before suffixes, in which the *ay* has been retained, e. g. מִיִּנְיָא *miqnäyâ* *possessio tua* = *maqnay-ka*, מִרְאֵיהֶם *mar'êhem* *aspectus eorum* = *ma-r'ay-hum*.¹ In the feminine of the infinitive the vowel which precedes the elided *y* blends with the following, comp. רִאָּה *videre* רִאָּה = *r'aya-t*, $\text{חַהֵּי$ *hah(ä)yô* = *ha-hyaya-t*.

§. 102. The endings *iyya* and *uyya* (from *uvva*), although originally themselves plural forms, receive the endings of the gender and number in the usual manner; only the plural has contracted *îm* from *-iyy-îm* and in the sing. *iyy* always becomes *i* and *uvv* becomes *û*; the connection of the ending of the fem. sing. with the former is frequently and with the latter is always immediate. Comp. עִבְרִי 'ibri *hebraeus* = 'ibriyy, fem. עִבְרִיָּה 'ibri' or עִבְרִיָּה 'ibriyyâ = 'ibriyya-t, plur. עִבְרִיִּים , contracted עִבְרִיִּים 'ibri'im = 'ibriyy-îm, fem.

¹ *It should however be remarked the *yôd* of such forms may in many cases (e. g. Dan. i, 5) indicate the plural.

מַלְאָכָאֵי = *mal'ăḥā'î* = 'ibriyy-ât, מַלְאָכָאֵי = *mal'ăḥā'î* = *malakuvv[a]*, plur. מַלְאָכָאֵי = *mal'ăḥā'yyô'î*, comp. §. 81.

§. 103. The suffixes appended to the noun which indicate the genitive of the personal pronoun are only shortened forms of these same pronouns. In their formation they differ very slightly from those appended to the verb. They are: 1. sing. *î* or *y*; 2. sing. masc. *kâ*; 2. sing. fem. *k*; 3. sing. masc. *-hû*, *-v*; 3. sing. fem. *hâ*, *h*; 1. plur. *-nû*; 2. plur. masc. *kém*; 2. plur. fem. *kén*; 3. plur. masc. *hém*, *m*, poet. *mô*; 3. plur. fem. *hén*, *n*. The old final vowel has been retained before them (§. 37), hence the monosyllabic stems appear in their original form. This final vowel is either *a* (Hebr. *ā*, *ā̄*, *ǝ*) or *i* (Hebr. *ē*) and has the tone, except when it is volatized, or absorbed by the vowel of the suffix. If the final vowel had already become long in primitive Semitic by fusion with the preceding vowel, the suffixes are naturally joined directly to this long vowel; but a vocalization of the final consonant, which first entered according to Hebrew vocal laws, is ignored by the far older forms of the suffixes. Comp. the suffix-form מַלְאָכָאֵי *p'î-nû* from the petrified genitive form מַלְאָכָאֵי *os pî*; but מַלְאָכָאֵי *pîryénû* = *pary-i-nû*, not *përinû* from מַלְאָכָאֵי *përi' fructus* = *pary*. Nevertheless מַלְאָכָאֵי *p'î-χém* also occurs before *kém*, *hém*. In the plural and dual of both genders the suffixes are always joined to the masculine plural ending *ay* (Hebr. *ay*, *ā̄*, *ê*) so that the feminine has a double plural ending before the suffixes.

§. 104. The nouns with suffixes appear in the following form: 1. sing. מַלְאָכָאֵי *sûs-î' equus meus*, מַלְאָכָאֵי *pî os meum* — *pî-y[a]*, in the fem. מַלְאָכָאֵי *sûs-â'î' = sûsa-t-î*, in

the plur. and dual masc. סוּסָי *súsáy* = *susa-y-y[a]*, comp. §. 34, 3, in the fem. plur. סוּסוֹדָי *súsôḏáy* = *sús-ât-ay-y[a]*, in the fem. dual סוּסָדָי *súsāḏáy* = *sûsa-ta-y-y[a]*; 1. plur. פִּינֵי *pí'nú*, סוּסֵנֵי *súsénú* = *sús-i-nú*, in the fem. סוּסָדֵנֵי *súsāḏénú* = *sûsa-t-i-nú*, in the dual and plural סוּסֵנֵי *súsénú* = *sûsa-y-nú*, in the fem. plur. סוּסוֹדֵנֵי *súsôḏénú* = *súsât-ay-nú*, in the fem. dual סוּסָדֵנֵי *súsāḏénú* = *sûsa-ta-y-nú*; 2. masc. sing. פִּי' *pí'ḡā*, סוּסָה *súsəḡā* (in pausa סוּסָה *súsāḡā*) = *sûsa-ka*, in the plural סוּסָיָה *súsāḡā* = *sûsa-y-ka*, 2. fem. sing. פִּי' *pí'ḡ*, סוּסָה *súsəḡ* = *sús-i-k*, in the plur. סוּסָיָה *súsáy(i)ḡ* = *sûsa-y-k*; 2. masc. plur. פִּי' *pí'-ḡém*, סוּסָה *súsəḡém* = *sûsa-kum*, with a full final vowel only פִּי' *immā-ḡém vobiscum*, in the plural סוּסָיָה *súsəḡém* = *sûsa-y-kum*; 2. fem. plur. פִּי' *pí'ḡén*, סוּסָה *súsəḡ-ḡén*, in the plur. סוּסָיָה *súsəḡén*; 3. masc. sing. פִּי' *pí'hú* or פִּי' *pív* = *pí-v[a]*, סוּסוֹ' = *sûsa-hú* (poetically with the genitive ending סוּסוֹ' *súsé'hú* = *sús-i-hú*) in the poetical form of the plural סוּסוֹ' *súsé'hú* = *sûsa-y-hú*, commonly סוּסוֹ' also written סוּסוֹ', to be pronounced according to the punctuation סוּסוֹ', certainly from *súsáy-hú*; 3. fem. sing. פִּי' *pí'há*, סוּסָה *súsəḡhá* = *sûsa-há*, commonly apocopated סוּסָה *súsá-h*, in the plur. סוּסָיָה *súsāḡhá* = *sûsa-y-há*; 3. masc. plur. פִּי' *pí'hém*, סוּסָה *súsám* = *sû-sa-m* = *sûsa-hem* = *sûsa-hum*, poetically also סוּסָה *súsá-mó*, in the plur. סוּסָיָה *súséhém* = *sûsa-y-hum*, poetically סוּסָיָה *súsé'mó* = *súsé-hemó*; 3. plur. fem. פִּי' *pí'hén*, סוּסָה *súsán* = *sûsa-hun*, in the plur. סוּסָיָה *súsé'hén* = *sûsa-y-hun*.

§. 105. The vowels before the suffixes are changed entirely according to universal vocal laws. The pre-tonic syllable should be heightened. The syllables at a greater distance from the tone should be volatilized, and open syllables which stand before a half vowel

should retain their short vowel. Only the suffix *ka* forms an exception to the latter rule, before which *a* is heightened in the antepenult, comp. דָּבָרָא דְּבָרָא *dēḇārā-rēḫā* = *dabara-ka* together with דְּבָרָא דְּבָרָא *dēḇarēḫem* = *dabarakum*, but regularly אֵיבָא דְּאֵיבָא *'ōyēḇēḫā* = *'āyibaka* from אֵיבָא *'ōyēḇ* *hostis* = *'āyiba*, שִׁמָּא דְּשִׁמָּא *šimēḫa* = *šima-ka* from שִׁמָּא *šēm* *nomen* = *šima*, יוֹצֵרָא דְּיוֹצֵרָא *yōḥerēḫā* *plasmator tuus* = *yāḥira-ka*, אֹהֵבָא דְּאֹהֵבָא *'ōhāḇēḫā* *amator tuus* = *'āhiba-ka* (by reason of the guttural), קְטוּלָא דְּקְטוּלָא *qēṭolēḫā* = *qtula-ka* from קְטוּלָא *qēṭōl* = *qtula* = *qutla*. — Volatilization of the pretonic syllable often occurs with *i*, especially in participles, comp. שְׁמִי מִשְׁמִי *šēmī* *nomen meum* *šēmī* = *šimī* from שְׁמִי *šēm* = *šim*, קוֹטְלִי מִקוֹטְלִי *qōṭlī* = *qātil-ī* from קוֹטְלִי *qōṭel* = *qātila*, מוֹצְדִי מִמוֹצְדִי *mō'ādī* *congregatio mea* = *ma-vid-ī* from מוֹצְדִי *mō'ēd*. On the contrary *i* is very rarely heightened in the antepenult of the form *qatila* e. g. הַצֵּרוֹתַי *ḥāḥērōṣāy* *atria mea* together with הַצֵּרוֹתַי *ḥāḥērōṣāy* = *ḥāḥirāt-ay[ya]*.

§. 106. The stems which end in *ay* lose this termination not only before all endings, but also before suffixes. Comp. הוֹזְאָא *ḥōzā* *propheta* = *ḥāza[ya-m]*, *stat. estr.* הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzē* = *ḥāza[ay]i*, with suffixes הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzī* = *ḥāz[ay]-ī*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-ka*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫ* = *ḥāz[ay]-ī-k*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫū* = *ḥāz[ay]-ī-hū*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫ* = *ḥāz[ay]a-h*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēnū* = *ḥāz[ay]-ī-nū*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫēm* = *ḥāz[ay]a-kum*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫ* = *ḥāz[ay]a-hum*. Yet the unabbreviated forms sometimes also occur, which then naturally exhibit the same vocal phenomena as the plurals with suffixes, most frequently before *kēm*, *hēm*, e. g. הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzē-ḫēm* = *ḥāzay-kum*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzēḫēm* = *ḥāzay-hum*. The feminine has הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-t*, *stat. estr.* הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzā*, with suffixes הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzā-t*, הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzā-tēḫā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-t-ī*, *ḥāz[ay]a-ta-ka* etc., plural הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzīm* = *ḥāz[ay]-īm*, *stat. estr.* הוֹזְאֵי *ḥōzē* = *ḥāz-*

[ay]a-y, with suffixes הַזַּי הֹז-זַאֵי = hâz[ay]a-y-[ya], הַזַּיִרָה הֹזזְאַיָּא = hâz[ay]a-y-ka etc., fem. plur. הַזַּיִרָה הֹז-זֹ'ט = hâz[ay]-ât, with suffixes הַזַּיִרָה הֹזזֹ'טַאֵי = hâz[ay]-âta-y-[ya], הַזַּיִרָה הֹזזֹ'טַאֵיָּא = hâ-z[ay]-âta-y-ka etc.

§. 107. We present here together for the sake of clearness several unusual forms of declension which have already been partially touched upon. The monosyllabic stem ראשׁ *rôš caput* = *ra'sa* has in the plural ראשיׁם *râšî'm* = *ra'ašîm*, while the similarly formed stems צֶאֱן *çôn pecus* = *ç'a'na* and בַּאֵר *cisterna bô'r* = *ba'ra* are unchangeable. In like manner יְרֵר *urbs 'ir* = *'iyra* has in the plural יְרֵרִים *'ârî'm* = *'äyârîm*, *stat. cstr.* יְרֵרֵי *'ârê*, תְּהִלָּה *hay(i)l virtus* = *hayla* in the plural תְּהִלָּתִים *hây'alî'm* and שׂוֹר *sôr taurus* = *šavra* in the plural שׂוֹרִים *šəvārî'm*, while otherwise such forms are unchangeable and do not form their plural from a disyllabic stem. The plurals כְּלִיִּם *kelî'm*, *stat. cstr.* כְּלֵי *kĕlê* from כְּלִי *kĕlî vas* = *kalya*, and יָמִים *yāmî'm*, *stat. cstr.* יָמֵי *yĕmê* from יוֹם *yôm dies* = *yarma* are evidently based upon a theme which deviates from the singular. The plural בָּתִּים *bottî'm* from בַּיִת *bay(i)t domus* = *bayta* is obscure and perhaps only rests upon an arbitrary punctuation. The word אִשׁ *'iš vir* = *'inš*, *'anš* has regularly in the plural אֲנָשִׁים *'anāšî'm*, *stat. cstr.* אֲנָשֵׁי *'anəšê* = *'anaša-y*. Its feminine אִשָּׁה *'iššâ* = *'inša-ta*, *stat. cstr.* אִשָּׁת *'ēš(e)t* = *'iš-t* = *'išt* = *'inš-ta*, with suffixes אִשְׁתּוֹ *'ištô* = *'iš-ta-hû*, אִשְׁתּוֹכָא *'ēštĕçá* = *'išta-ka*, is only discriminated in the plural from the masculine through the apocope of 'á נָשִׁים *nāšî'm*. The shortened form בֶּן *bēn filius*, *stat. cstr.* בֶּן-בֵּן or בֵּן-בֵּן, with suffixes בְּנֵי *bĕnô'*, בְּנֵי *binĕçá* exhibits an *a* in the plural בָּנִים *banî'm*, *stat. cstr.* בְּנֵי *bĕnê*, likewise in the feminine בַּת *ba't* = *bant*, with suffixes בַּתּוֹ *bittô'*, plur. בָּנוֹת *bā-*

nô'ô, *stat. cstr.* בְּנוֹת *bə'nô'ô*. The words אָב *'āḇ pater*, אָח *'āḥ frater*, חָמ *ḥām socer*, אָבָא *pā os* have in the definite form, hence in the *stat. cstr.* and before suffixes according to §§. 37. 95 a final *i*, therefore in the *stat. cstr.* אָבִי *'āḇî*, אָחִי *'āḥî*, חָמִי *ḥāmî*, אָבִי *pî*. The following forms appear as plurals: אָבוֹת *'āḇō't patres* and אָחִים *'āḥîm fratres*, the latter with implied, but probably only euphonic doubling, which also remains before the suffixes (comp. אָחִיאָ *'āḥîā*, אָחִיָּי *'āḥî[yy]* (according to §. 29), but in the *stat. cstr.* אָחֵי *'āḥê* it disappears. The words חָמוֹת *ḥāmō't socrus* and אָחוֹת *'āḥō't soror = 'āḥaya-t*, plur. אָחָיוֹת *'āḥāyō't* occur as feminines. An *h* appears as a third radical in the plur. אִמָּהוֹת *'āmā-hō't*, *stat. cstr.* אִמָּהוֹת *'aməḥō't* from אִמָּה *'āmā ancilla*.

§. 108. The Hebrew numerals are: 1 אֶחָד *'āḥād = 'ahḥād* according to §. 29 = *'ahada* with implied euphonic *dāḡeš*, *stat. cstr.* אַחַד *'ahād*, fem. אַחַדָּה *'ahādā = aḥad-t*; 2 שְׁנַיִם *šə'náy(i)m*, fem. שְׁנַיִמָּה *šə'nay(i)m*.¹ The numbers 3—10 have the peculiarity, that their masculine is connected with the feminine of that which is numbered and vice versa.² In the *stat. cstr.* of the fem. they generally have the form which elides the final radical vowel before *t* of the ending. Hence שְׁלוֹשׁ *šālō's*, *stat. cstr.* שְׁלוֹשׁת *šəlōš*, fem. שְׁלוֹשָׁה *šəlōšā*, *stat. cstr.* שְׁלוֹשָׁה *šəlōš(e)* = *šaluš-t* (§. 40); 4 אַרְבַּע *'arbū'*, fem.

¹ *The form שְׁנַיִמָּה has arisen from שְׁנַיִם = שְׁנַיִמָּה. The *dāḡeš* lene after the volatilization of the initial vowel has merely remained as an etymological sign.

² *Fleischer considers the numerals in this case as substantives which maintained themselves as such by their dissimilarity to the person or thing numbered; see his treatise "Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arabischen" in "Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften", 1862.

הַרְבָּעָה 'arbā'á, *stat. cstr.* הַרְבַּעָה 'arbá'(a)־; 5 הַחֲמִישִׁי hā-mēš, *fem.* הַחֲמִישִׁיָּה hāmīššā, *stat. cstr.* הַחֲמִישִׁיָּה hāmēš(e)־; 6 שֵׁשׁ šēš, *fem.* הַשֵּׁשִׁי šīššā, *stat. cstr.* הַשֵּׁשִׁי šēš(e)־ = šīš-t; 7 שִׁבְעַת šāḇ(a)־, *stat. cstr.* שִׁבְעַת š(ē)ḇā־, *fem.* הַשִּׁבְעִי šīḇ'á, *stat. cstr.* הַשִּׁבְעִי šīḇ'á־; 8 שְׁמוֹנָה šēmônā, *fem.* הַשְּׁמוֹנִי šēmônā, *stat. cstr.* הַשְּׁמוֹנִי šēmônā־; 9 תֵּשַׁע tēš(a)־, *stat. cstr.* תֵּשַׁע t(ē)šā־, *fem.* הַתֵּשַׁעִי tīš'á, *stat. cstr.* הַתֵּשַׁעִי tīš'á־; 10 עֶשְׂרִי 'āš(e)r, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי 'āšārā, *stat. cstr.* הָעֶשְׂרִי 'ā-šār(e)־. The numbers 11—19 are formed by prefixing the units to עֶשְׂרִי 'āšār, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי 'ešrē'; 11 is indicated, besides עֶשְׂרִי אַחַד 'ahād 'āšār, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי אַחַד 'ahād 'ešrē, by עֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂתֵּי 'aštē 'āšār, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂתֵּי 'aštē 'ešrē'.¹ For 12 the forms עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנַיִם šēnē'm 'āšār, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי שְׁנַיִם štēm 'ešrē are used, as well as עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנֵי šēnē 'āšār, *fem.* הָעֶשְׂרִי שְׁנֵי štē 'ešrē. The number 13 precedes the masculines in the form עֶשְׂרִי שְׁלוֹשָׁה šēlōšā 'āšār, it precedes feminines in the form עֶשְׂרִי שְׁלוֹשׁ šēlōš 'ešrē. The other numerals up to nineteen follow the same analogy. The tens are indicated by the plural of the units, except 20, for which the plural of 10 is employed. In this case the monosyllabic stems form a regular, not a dissyllabic plural. Hence 20 עֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂרִים 'ešrī'm, 30 עֶשְׂרִי שְׁלוֹשִׁים šēlōšīm, 40 אַרְבָּעִים 'arbā'īm, 50 חֲמִישִׁים hāmīššīm, 60 שִׁשִּׁים šīššīm, 70 שִׁבְעִים šīḇ'īm, 80 שְׁמוֹנִים šēmônīm, 90 תֵּשַׁעִים tīš'īm, 100 מֵאָה mē'á, *stat. cstr.* מֵאוֹת mē'āy, 200 מֵאוֹת מֵאוֹת māšāy(i)m = mē'āšāy(i)m, 300 מֵאוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ šēlōš(e)־ mē'ōš, before the feminine מֵאוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ מֵאוֹת šēlōš mē'ōš etc., 1000 אֶלֶף 'āl(e)ḫ, 2000 אֶלֶף עֶשְׂרִים 'alpāy(i)m, 3000 אֶלֶף שְׁלוֹשׁ šēlōš(e)־ 'ālāḫ'īm etc.;

¹ *This enigmatic word עֶשְׂתֵּי which as well as 'āhād signifies *unus* is the same as the Assyrian numeral *istin unus*, and is of Accadic origin; comp. Friedrich Delitzsch in "Smith's Chaldäische Genesis", Leipzig 1876, S. 277—280.

10000 רבבָה *rəḇḇāḇā*, later רבוא *ribbō'*, רבוח *ribbō'* ר; 20000 רבובתים *ribbōḇāy(i)m*.

§. 109. The ordinals (except ראשון *rīšō'n primus* = רִשְׁוֹן *rīšō'n*) are formed through the annexation of the affix *i* as follows: שֵׁנִי *sēnī secundus*, שְׁלִישִׁי *šēlišī tertius*, רְבִיעִי *rəḇī'ī quartus*, חֲמִישִׁי *ḥāmīššī* or חֲמִישִׁי *ḥāmīšī quintus*, שִׁשִּׁי *šiššī sextus*, שִׁבְעִי *šēḇī'ī septimus*, שְׁמִינִי *šēminī octavus*, תְּשִׁיעִי *tēšī'ī nonus*, עֲשִׂירִי *'āšīrī decimus*. The feminine forms usually end in *-ī' ִ*, more rarely in *-iyyā*, and indicate a part, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *ḥāmīššī' quinta pars*, which can also be expressed through חֲמִישׁ *ḥōm(e)š*. — The dual of the feminine gives the numeral the signification of *times*, or *fold*, e. g. שִׁבְעָתַיִם *šīḇ'āḇāy(i)m septies*.

3. CONJUGATION.

§. 110. The perfect of the simple form (*qal*), as has been already remarked, has arisen from the theme *qatala*, of which the intransitive forms are *qatila* and *qutula*. The feminine and the plural of the third person are formed by means of the same affixes as in the noun, while the formation of the second and first person is accomplished through the annexation of the corresponding personal pronouns, with the elision of the preceding final vowel of the stem. Thus we have 3. sing. masc. קָטַל *qātāl interfecit* = *qatala*, compare before suffixes קָטַלְנִי *qəṭālā-nī* = *qatala-nī*. The 3. sing. fem. is קָטַלְתָּ *qātālā* according to §. 43 = *qatala-t*. This form even in primitive Semitic had lost the vowel of the feminine affix, and ended in the consonant *t*; compare with suffixes קָטַלְתְּהוּ *qəṭālāt-hū* = *qatalat-hū*. The 3. plur. has no distinction of

gender קָטַלְתָּ *qātə́lû* = *qatal-û* = *qatal[a]-u-u*, very rarely with the status-affix *n*, which has arisen out of *m*, as קָטַלְתָּנָּ *qātə́lû'n* = *qatal[a]-u-u-ma*. In the second person masc. sing. we find קָטַלְתָּ *qātəl-tā* = *qa-tal-ta*, fem. קָטַלְתְּ *qātə́lt* = *qatal-t* (rarely קָטַלְתִּי *qātə́lti* = *qatal-ti*¹, which however always appears before suffixes, e. g. קָטַלְתִּינִי *qə́təlti'-nî* = *qatə́lti-nî*). The masc. plur. is קָטַלְתֶּם *qə́təltém* = *qatal-tum* and fem. קָטַלְתֶּן *qə́təltén* = *qatə́ltun*. All these endings are certainly nothing else than the corresponding personal pronoun. Before suffixes the plural ending of the second person has maintained itself in the more ancient form *-tû* (without the status-affix, but with the long vowel which has resulted from the doubling of the casus-affix), comp. קָטַלְתֹּוּ *qə́təltû* = *qatal-t-u-u-nî*. The first person has קָטַלְתִּי *qātə́lti* = *qatal-ti* (which has probably arisen from *qatal-ki*), plur. קָטַלְנָּ *qātə́lnû* = *qatal-nû*. — The perfect of the intransitive, as קָבַד *kāβēd* = *kabida gravis erat* almost always has in the originally closed syllables *a* instead of *i*, and hence differs from קָטַל *qātəl* only in the pause of the 3. fem. and 3. plur., where according to §. 21 the penult is heightened. Comp. קָבַדָּ *kā-βēdû*, but in pausa קָבַדָּ *kāβēdû*, in the transitive קָטַלְתָּ *qātə́lû*. — The other intransitive form however with *u*, as קָטַן *qātōn parvus erat* = *qatana*, always retains this vowel, e. g. 1. sing. קָטַנְתִּי *qātōnti*, 2. plur. masc. קָטַנְתֶּם *qə́tōntém*, 3. plur. קָטַנְתֹּוּ *qātə́nû*, in pausa קָטַנוּ *qātōnú*.

§. III. In order to connect the perfect with a preceding future or imperative, and to give it an

¹ *Whenever this form occurs in the text, it is rejected by the Qəri, e. g. קָטַלְתָּ (Q. הלכת) Jer. xxxi, 21; קָטַלְתָּ Ez. xvi, 18; קָטַלְתָּ verse 20.

analogous signification, $\text{q} \check{v}\check{e}$ is prefixed and the accent is transferred to the final syllable. This change of accent however effects no other vocal alteration than that which is indispensably necessary (§. 46), namely that the now toneless syllable should retain the originally short instead of the heightened vowel, e. g. $\text{qā}tōnta$ *parvus eras*, $\text{qā}tōntá$.¹ The removal of the accent does not take place in pausa, according to §. 21, nor, according to §. 18, when the following word with which it is closely connected begins with an accented syllable.

§. 112. The fundamental form of the constr. infinitive, the imperative and future in the regular transitive verb is *qutla* (transposed *qtula*), but in the intransitives it is *qatla* (transposed *qtala*). The form *qitla* is only confined to some irregular stems. Thus arises the infinitive $\text{q}(\check{e})tōl = qtul[a] = qutla$. The auxiliary sound has established itself here so firmly, that it even remains in cases where it could be dispensed with e. g. in $\text{bi-n}\check{e}\phi\check{o}l$ *in cadendo*. It was only impossible² for it to enter after a prefixed *li*, or before gutturals *la*³, which already at an early period formed with the infinitive a kind of gerundium. Comp. $\text{li-n}\check{p}\check{o}l$ *cadendo*, $\text{la-h}\check{t}\check{o}m$ *obsignando*. Even when the vowel stands after the first consonant, as is the case before affixes with an initial vowel, a half vowel is inserted after the second consonant, because it had become customary

¹ *An example which really occurs is $\text{qā}tōntá$ Ex. xviii, 23.

² *See however Jer. i, 10; xlvi, 4, and Delitzsch on Ps. xl, 15.

³ *Nevertheless in this case, an inserted half vowel, \check{a} , after 'Aleph \check{e} , almost always follows the guttural, comp. $\text{la-h}(\check{a})r\check{o}y$ *interficiendo*, $\text{le}'(\check{e})\check{x}\check{o}l$ *edendo*. But this insertion of a half vowel after the guttural has a different reason from the assumption of an auxiliary vowel in the infinitive, compare §. 55.

to regard the form as dissyllabic; comp. fem. קָרְבָּה *qor(ē)βā* *appropinquare* = *qurbata*, with suffixes קָטְלוּ *qot(ē)lō'* = *qutla-hū*. The form with *a* instead of '*u*' is very rare even in the intransitive verb. But when it occurs *a*, according to vocal laws, can become *i* or *e*. E. g. שָׁכַב *š(ē)χaβ* *jacere* = *škaba*, *šakba*, in the fem. אָהַבָּה *'ah(ā)βā* *amare* = *'ahba-ta*, שִׁיןָּה *šin(ē)'ā* *odisse*, חָמְלָה *hem(ē)lā* *parcere*.

§. 113. The imperative, which even in primitive Semitic had lost its final vowel, is likewise קָטַל *q(ē)tōl* = *qtul* = *qutl*, although the Hebrew forms with suffixes presuppose a final vowel *i* = *u*, as in the future. The intransitives regularly have *a* as a stem-vowel, e. g. כָּבַד *k(ē)βād* = *kbad*, *kabd*. The feminine is formed by adding the ending *ī'* (§. 114), the masc. plur. and fem. plural by adding respectively m. *ū'* (§. 110) and f. *nā* (§. 114). The original position of the vowel in *qutl* remains before the endings of which the initial sound is a full vowel, but a superfluous half vowel is inserted after the second consonant and the *u* is generally attenuated to *i*. It is rarely retained as *o* in such forms מוֹלְכָה *mol(ē)χū* *regnate* = *mulk-ū*. Thus arise the 2. fem. קָטְלִי *qit(ē)lī'* = *qutl-i*, 2. plur. masc. קָטְלוּ *qit(ē)lū* = *qutl-ū*, 2. plur. fem. קָטְלֵנָּה *q(ē)tōlnā* = *qtul-na*, from the intransitive כָּבַדְנָה *k(ē)βādnā* = *kbad-na*.

§. 114. The future is formed by subjoining the affixes of the *casus*, *status* and *genus* to the monosyllabic stem, and by prefixing the personal pronouns, among which is the fem. *ta*. The theme appears either without an ending, i. e. as an accusative, in the form *qtula*, or with the nominative ending as *qtul-u*, or with the indefinite affix as *qtula-m*, *qtula-n*, or finally with the elision of the final vowel as *qtul*. The fundamental

form of the jussive and of the future with *vav consecutivum* is *qtul*, that of the cohortative, sometimes also before suffixes, is *qtulan*. The forms *qtula* and *qtul-u*, since they lose their final vowel according to Hebrew vocal laws, can no longer be discriminated from each other. Hence only this is certain, that before almost all suffixes the form *qtulu* appears, although with the modification of its *u* to *i*. The 3. sing. masc. *yiqṭól* = *ya-qtul-u* has certainly arisen by prefixing the pronominal root of the third person *ya* = *va*, likewise the 3. sing. fem. *tiqṭól* = *taqtul-u* by prefixing the feminine *ta*, which in this case may not be suffixed, as there would then be no discrimination between the future and perfect. The 3. plur. masc. *yiqṭǝlú'* = *ya-qtul-u-u* indicates the plural, as in the noun and the perfect, through the twofold repetition of the nominative affixes, to which also the indefinite affix *n* = *m* is sometimes subjoined, comp. *yidrǝḫú'n* *calcabunt* = *ya-druk-u-u-na*. The 3. plur. fem. *tiqṭólna* = *ta-qtul-na* is very much mutilated, since it was originally *ta-qtul-â-na* = *ta-qtula-[t]a-[t]a-ma*. This form may perhaps still be presupposed from *tiqṭóln* which frequently occurs in the Pentateuch.¹ Since the gender is here already indicated in the ending the feminine prefix *ta* is to be regarded only as a pleonasm, hence the form *yiqṭólnā* = *ya-qtul-na* also occurs a few times (but always in Aramaic and Arabic). — The second person prefixes the pronominal root *ta* in every case to the stem, to which it subjoins in the masc. and fem. plur. the same endings, as in the third

¹ The Aramaic furnishes the proof of this. One only needs to compare the Chaldaic *yiqṭǝlân* with the *stat. abs.* fem. plur. *malkân*, whose ending has the same sound, and remember what is said in §. 93 Rem. in regard to the origin of the latter form.

person; on the other hand it subjoins to the fem. sing. *i* as affix of the gender (perhaps = *hi*); thus arise 2. masc. sing. לִּיקְטֹל *tiqtól* = *ta-qtul-u*, 2. fem. sing. לִּיקְטְלִי *tiqtēli* = *ta-qtul-i*, rarely with the addition of the indefinite affix לִּיקְטְלִינִי *tiqtēlin* = *ta-qtul-i-ma*, 2. plur. masc. לִּיקְטְלוּ *tiqtēlū* = *ta-qtul-u-u*, rarely לִּיקְטְלוּנִי *tiqtēlūn* = *ta-qtul-u-u-ma*, 2. plur. fem. לִּיקְטְלֵנָּה *tiqtēlnā* = *ta-qtul-na*. — The first person of the sing. and plur. are respectively indicated by prefixing the abbreviated pronominal stems *'a* and *na* to the root, e. g. 1. sing. אֶיקְטֹל *'eqtól* = *'iqtól* = *'a-qtul-u*, 1. plur. נִיקְטֹל *niqtól* = *na-qtul-u*. — The intransitives have the vowel *a* in the future, comp. יִקְבֹּד *yiqbad* = *ya-kbad-u*, יִקְטֹן *yiqtán* = *ya-qtan-u*.

§. 115. The cohortative scarcely ever occurs except in the first person¹, hence אֶיקְטְלֵא *'eqtēlā* = *'a-qtula-m agedum interficiam!* נִיקְטְלֵא *niqtēlā* = *na-qtula-m interficiamus!* It is also found in the imperative, e. g. שֹׁמְרָא *šom(ē)rā custodi* = *šumra-m*, סִבְבָּא *šix(ē)βa cuba* = *šikba-m*, *sakba-m*. — The jussive, is found almost exclusively in the second and third person, and is based upon the form *yaqtul* without a final vowel. Hence in the *qal* of the regular verb, after the falling away of all the final vowels in Hebrew, it can no longer be externally distinguished from the ordinary form. This is also the fundamental form of the *futurum consecutivum* or the historical mode, which is joined by *va* and the doubling of the following consonant to the preceding narrative. The accent should then be drawn back upon the penult. This however does not take place when the penult is a closed syllable,

¹ *The cohortative of the 3. person only occurs in Ps. xx, 4, Job. xi, 17, Jes. v, 19.

hence in the qal of the entire regular verb, e. g. וַיַּיְצִיטֹל *vayyiqṭól et interfecit* = *va-ya-qtul*, וַיִּעַטֹל *vā'eqṭól et interfeci* = *va'a-qtul*.

§. 116. The infinitive absol. and the active participle have arisen from the dissyllabic form. The infin. absol. is קָטַל *qātól* = *qatála*, and the active participle qal קֹטֵל *qôṭél* = *qátīla*, which in the feminine has either קֹטֵלָה *qôṭēlá* or קֹטֵלְתָה *qôṭēlā* = *qatīla-ta*, but mostly קֹטֵלִים *qôṭāl(e)ím* = *qátal-ta*, in the plural קֹטֵלִים *qôṭāl(e)ím* = *qátal-ta*. The active participle of the intransitives has just the same form as their perfect. Comp. יָשָׁן *yāšén dormiens* = *yašína*, יָגַר *yāḡór timens* = *yagura*. — The only remnant of the passive in the qal is the participle קָטֹל *qātúl occisus* = *qatúla*.

§. 117. Through the prefixing of *na* to the stem *qtala*, or *hin*, when the first radical consonant retains its vowel, the *niḡ'al* conjugation arises, which has a reflexive, reciprocal and passive signification. The perfect is נִקְטַל *niqṭal* = *na-qtala*, and is conjugated just as in the qal. The participle נִקְטָל *niqṭál*, fem. נִקְטָלָה *niqṭālā* = *na-qtala-ta*, generally נִקְטָלִים *niqṭāl(e)ím* = *na-qtal-ta*, is specially indicated only by the heightening of the radical vowel through which the nominal forms are usually discriminated from the purely verbal. The fundamental form of the infinitive, imperative and future of the *niḡ'al* must prefix *hin*, since it retains both radical vowels. Thus arise the imperative הִיִּקְטַלְתָּ *hiqqāṭél* = *hin-qatīl*, plur. הִיִּקְטַלְתֶּם *hiqqāṭēlū'* = *hin-qatīl-ú*, the infinitive estr. (which often serves for the absol.) $\text{הִיִּקְטַלְתָּ$ *hiqqāṭél* = *hin-qatīla*, the infin. abs. $\text{הִיִּקְטַלְתָּ$ *hiqqāṭól* = *hin-qa-tála*, with which nevertheless the form נִקְטַלְתָּ *niqṭól* = *naqtála* occurs, which has arisen as above by prefixing *na*. Before

the prefixes of the future according to §. 35 the aspirate is elided. Thus we have the future $\text{יִקְרָא} yiqqāṭēl = yē\text{-}hin\text{-}qāṭēl = yu\text{-}hin\text{-}qatīlu$, the inflection of which is entirely analogous to that of the future *qal* (also 1. sing. $\text{יִקְרָא} 'eqqāṭēl$). The 2. and 3. fem. plur. has $\text{תִּקְרָאֵנָה} tiqqāṭālnā = tu\text{-}hin\text{-}qatal\text{-}na$, very rarely $\text{תִּקְרָאֵנָה} tiqqāṭēlna = tu\text{-}hin\text{-}qatīl\text{-}na$. In pausa the future is generally $\text{יִקְרָא} yiqqāṭāl$. When the accent is drawn back through the prefixing of *vav consecutivum*, it is $\text{וַיִּקְרָא} vayyiqqāṭel$. — A passive has not been retained in the ni^ʿal.¹

§. 118. The pi^ʿel which has been formed by doubling the second radical consonant, and which has an intensive, causative or denominative signification, has in the perfect $\text{קִטְּלַת} qittēl = qittila$, although almost as frequently $\text{קִטְּלָה} qittāl = qittala$. The first formation always appears where the second syllable is open (e. g. $\text{קִטְּלֹה} qittēlū$, in pausa $\text{קִטְּלֹה} qittēlū = qittilū$), the second where it is closed (e. g. $\text{קִטְּלָה} qittāl\text{-}tā$). The three verbs $\text{דִּבְּרָר} dibbār locutus est$, $\text{כִּפְּרָר} kippār expiavit$, $\text{כִּבְּבָר} kibbās larit$ heighten *a* to Segol.² — The imperative has $\text{קִטְּל} qattēl = qattil$, fem. $\text{קִטְּלִי} qattēli$, plur. $\text{קִטְּלוּ} qattēlū$, fem. $\text{קִטְּלֵנָה} qattēlnā$. The infin. cstr. (which also stands for the absol.) is likewise $\text{קִטְּל} qattēl = qattila$, the infin. absol. $\text{קִטְּוֹל} qattōl = qattāla$, the future $\text{יִקְרָא} yēqqāṭēl = yu\text{-}qattīlu$, 2. and 3. plur. fem. $\text{תִּקְרָאֵנָה} tēqqāṭēlnā$, the par-

¹ *The corresponding seventh form of the Arabic verb *'in-qatala* has its own pass. *'unqutila*.

² *The author considers the Segol in this case as a mixed sound, but one can regard it with greater propriety, as an abbreviation of Zere (*e* from *ē*), so that such forms as $\text{כִּפְּרָר} kipper$, are on the same level with $\text{יִבְּבָר} 'ibbaδ$, $\text{גִּדְּדָל} giddal$, $\text{שִׁלְּלָם} šillam$.

ticiple מְקַטְּלֵל *məqattēl* = *mu-qattila*, fem. commonly מְקַטְּלֵת *mə-qattāl(e)* = *mu-qattal-ta*.

§. 119. The pu^{al}, as passive of the pi^{el} has in the perfect the infin. constr.¹ קַטְּלֵל *qattāl* = *quttala*, in the infin. absol. קַטְּלוּ *qattól* = *quttála*, in the future יִקְטַל *yəquttal* = *yu-quttalu*, in the participle מְקַטְּלֵל *məqattāl* = *muquttala*. — The reflexive conjugation *hiṣpa^{al}el* arises through the prefixing of *hit* to the stem of the pi^{el}, perf. imperative and infinitive הִיטְקַטְּלֵל *hiṣqattēl* = *hit-qattila* (also, as in the pi^{el}, הִיטְקַטְּלֵל *hiṣqattāl*), future יִהִיטְקַטְּלֵל *yihitqattēl* = *yə-hiṣqattēl* = *yu-hit-qattilu*, participle מִיְהִיטְקַטְּלֵל *miṣqattēl* = *mə-hiṣqattēl* = *mu-hit-qattila*. If the first radical consonant is a sibilant, transposition takes place (§. 25), if it is a dental, assimilation (§. 26, 3).² — Of a passive of this reflexive (*hoṣpa^{al}*) there are only isolated remnants, e. g. הִטְטַמְּאָה *huttammā* *contaminari* = *hut-tamma'a*. — The different forms which are analogous to the pi^{el}, as the pō^{el}, pō^{al}, hiṣpō^{el}, pa^ll̄el, pa^ll̄al, hiṣpa^ll̄el, pilpēl etc., will be mentioned under the irregular verbs.

§. 120. The causative conjugation *hiq^{al}il* is formed by means of the prefix *ha* (in the perfect *hi*) and in many cases by the insertion of *i* as stem-vowel (§. 47, rem.), which is always accented. Thus arise the perfect הִיקְטִיל *hiq-tīl* = *ha-qtīla*, *ha-qtala*, fem. הִיקְטִילָה *hiqtī'lā* = *ha-qtī-la-t*, but since according to §. 38 originally closed syllables could have no long vowel, the 2. sing. remains

¹ *This form is purely imaginary since the only infin. pu^{al} of a strong verb is קָטַל Gen. xl, 15.

² *Both transposition and assimilation occur in הִזְזַקָה *hizzakka* = הִזְזַקָה *hizdakkā* = הִזְזַקָה *hizdakkā se mundavit*.

הִקְטִילְתָּ *hiqtáltā* = *ha-qtal-ta*, imperative הִקְטִיל *haqtél* = *ha-qtíl*, fem. הִקְטִילִי *haqtíli*, plur. הִקְטִילוּ *haqtílu*, fem. plur. הִקְטִילְנָה *haqtélnā*, infin. estr. הִקְטִיל *haqtíl*, infin. absol. הִקְטִיל *haqtél*, fut. יִקְטִיל *yaqtíl* = *yǔ-haqtíl* = *yu-ha-qtílu*, jussive according to §. 38 יִקְטִיל *yaqtél* = *yu-ha-qtíl*, likewise יִקְטִיל *vay-ya-qtél*, 2. sing. fem. יִקְטִילִי *taqtíli*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. יִקְטִילְנָה *taqtélnā* = *tu-ha-qtíl-na*, participle מִקְטִיל *maqtil* = *mǔ-haqtíl* = *mu-ha-qtíla*¹, fem. generally מִקְטִילָה *maqtil(e)h* = *mu-ha-qtal-ta*.

§. 121. The *hoḥ'al* passive of the *hiḥ'il* is in the perfect, imperative and infin. estr. הִקְטַל *hoqtál* or הִקְטַל *huqtál* = *hu-qtala*, in the infin. absol. הִקְטַל *hoqtél* = *hu-qtala*², fut. יִקְטַל *yoqtál*, also יִקְטַל *yuqtál* = *yǔ-huqtál* = *yu-hu-qtalu*, participle, with the usual nominal heightening, commonly מִקְטַל *muqtál*, also מִקְטַל *moqtál* = *mu-hu-qtala*.

§. 122. The quadrilaterals are wont to be conjugated after the analogy of the *pi'el*, e. g. כִּרְסֵם *kirsēm* *deparvit* = *kirsima*, future יִכְרְסֵם *yǔkarsēm* = *yu-karsimu*, pass. part. מְכַרְבָּל *mǔkurbál* *praecinctus* = *mu-kurbala*. The form הִשְׁמַעְלִי *hišm'el* *sinistrorsum vertit* = *hi-šmē'el* follows the analogy of the *hiph'il*. The few cases in which a *ta* is prefixed to the verbal stem, as תִּירְגַלְתִּי *tirgálti* *ambulare feci* = *ta-rgal-ti* are perhaps also to be regarded as denominative quadrilaterals.³

¹ *The Arabic participle of the *hiḥ'il* (fourth form) likewise has short *i* as well as the future *muqtíl*, *yuqtílu*.

² *An example of the constr. infin. Hoph of a strong verb is not to be found, and the only instance of an infin. absol. is הִקְטַל *Ez. xvi, 4*.

³ *The causative form יִרְגֵל *irgíl* seems to be a collateral of the *Šaḥ'el* e. g. שִׁבְּחָה *inflammavit*.

§. 123. The so-called irregularities in conjugation are merely occasioned by the vocal laws of the primitive Semitic and Hebrew. The verbs *primae gutturalis* must according to §. 54 receive a compound half vowel instead of the simple one in the imperative and infinitive of the qal. This is commonly \check{a} , although after Aleph (as in the roots הרי *esse*, חיי *vivere*) it is \check{e} , comp. עָמַד '(\check{a})*mōd stā* = '*mud*, אָסַף '(\check{e})*sōφ collige* = '*sup*. The volatized half vowel, which has arisen from original *a* in the 2. plur. perf. of course always becomes \check{a} , e. g. אָמַרְתָּם '*āmartém dixistis* = '*amar-tum*. In the future qal the original *a* of the prefix remains according to §. 53, unless *a* follows in the next syllable. In such a case, and before Aleph, *i* entered for the sake of dissimilarity in the vowels, but on account of the guttural returned again to *e*. The *i* remains unchanged only in יִהְיֶה *yihyā erit* = *yi-hya[yu]* and יִחְיֶה *yihyā vivet*. Comp. יִחַסֵּר *yahsōr deficiet* = *ya-hsuru*, יִחַמֵּם *yeh-kám sapiet* = *yi-hkamu*, *ya-hkamu*. In both cases a half vowel which always follows the analogy of the preceding vowel (§. 55), is very often inserted after the guttural to facilitate the pronunciation. Comp. יָמַד *ya-(\check{a})mōd* = *ya'mu-du*, יִחַזַּק *yeh(\check{e})zāq* = *yehzaqu*, *yi-hzaqu*, $\text{יִחַזַּק$ *yeh(\check{e})zā videbit* = *yihza[yu]*. The half vowel, which has thus arisen, when followed by another half vowel in the next syllable, must become a full short vowel (§. 56), hence יָמַדְוּ *ya'(a)mēđú'* = *ya-'mud-ú*, יִחַזַּקוּ *yeh(e)zēqu'* = *yi-hzaq-u*. In the niφ'al and hiφ'il the prefixes have *a* and *e* respectively, where in the regular verb they have *a* or *i*; here also the insertion of an auxiliary sound is allowable after the guttural. Comp. נִהְפָּךְ *nehpāχ subversus est* = *ni-hpaka*, נִמַּדְוּ *ne'(ē)mād* = *ni-'mada*, 3. plur. (§. 56) נִחַסְרוּ *ne-(e)mēđú'*, נִחַסְרוּ *hehsí'r* = *hi-hzíra*, נִחַסְרוּ *he'(ē)-mí'd* =

hi-^fmîda, יַחְסִיר *yahsî'r* = *yu-ha-hsîru*, יַעֲמִיד *ya-(ä)mîd* = *yu-ha-^fmîdu*, הוֹפֵאֵל הַיַּעֲמִיד *ho^fal ho^f(ö)mäd* = *hu-^fmada*. Where the first radical consonant should be doubled in the *ni^fal* the law mentioned in §. 28 of course takes effect, e. g. יַאֲמִיר *ye'^ämîr* = *yi'-amira* = *yu-hin-^famira*. — The half vowel *ë* and the preceding *e*, when the tone is thrown forward, are easily simplified to *ä*, relatively *a*, according to §. 57, e. g. יַאֲסֵר *ye-(ë)sôr* *ligabit* = *yi-'sura*, 3. plur. יַאֲסְרוּ *ye'(e)-së'rû'*, with suff. יַאֲסְרוּהוּ *ya'(a)së'rû'hû'*, הַיַּעֲמִידָה *he'(ë)-mädtâ* = *hi-^fmad-ta*, with *vav consecutivum* יַעֲמִידָה *vë-ha^f(ä)mädtâ*.

§. 124. Five verbs *primae Alep* elide their first consonant in the future *qal* and in this way receive *ô = ä*. As the second vowel they have *ë (= i)*, with the exception of אָבִי and אָפִי as stems *tertiæ y* and אָמַר as *tertiæ gutturalis*, before unitive accents *a*, when the accent is drawn back *a* or *e*. They are אָבַד *perire*, אָבִי *velle*, אָכַל *edere*, אָמַר *dicere*, אָפִי *coquere*. Comp. יָאֲכֵל *yôxél* = *ya^f-(ä)xél* = *ya-'kilu*, but יָאֲכַל *vayyô'xäl*, יָאֲמַר *yômár*, יָאֲמֹר *vayyô'mer*.¹ In the 1. sing. the *Alep* of the first radical consonant is not expressed, even in writing, comp. אָמַר *'ómár*. The form יָלְמֹר *lémôr* *dicendo* = *le-(ë)môr* is worthy of notice. Some verbs form their future in two ways, e. g. יָאֲחֹז *ye'(ë)höz* *apprehendet* and יָחֹז *yôhéz*.

§. 125. The verbs *mediae gutturalis* receive a compound half vowel *ä* after the gutturals instead of a simple one, e. g. שָׂחַטוּ *šähätû* = *šahätû*. In the im-

¹ *In the short verses, which in the book of Job introduce his speeches and those of his three friends, the form is *vayyô'mar* with *a* notwithstanding the drawing back of the tone.

perative and future qal they retain according to §. 53 the stem vowel *a*, comp. imper. שָׁחֵטְּ *š(ē)hāt*, fem. שִׁחֵטְּ *šah(ä)t'*, futur. שִׁחֵטְּ *yishāt*. On the contrary the infinitive almost always has the vowel *u*, comp. שָׁחֹטְ *š(ē)hōt*. In the pi^{cc}el, pu^{cc}al and hišpa^{cc}el the vowel before *r* is always, before *'* commonly, before *h* scarcely ever heightened to compensate for the omission of the doubling. Comp. בָּרַךְ *berēx* *benedixit* = *birrika*, מָעַן *mē'ēn* *denegavit* = *mī'ina*, נִשְׁבַּח *nī'ēš* *blasphemavit* = *nī'īca*, קִשָּׁף *šihāq* *lusit* = *sihhaqa*, yet קִחָה *kihā* and קִחָה *kēhā* *increpuit* = *kihaya*. הִשָּׁחֵטְּ

§. 126. The verbs *tertiaie gutturalis* receive an auxiliary vowel *a* (§. 53) between an originally long vowel and the gutturals *' h ḥ* שָׁלוֹ' *šālō'(a)ḥ* = *šalāha*, שָׁלוּ' *šalū'(a)ḥ* = *šalūha*, הִשְׁלִי' *hišlī'(a)ḥ*. The same occurs after the merely heightened *ō* of the infin. cstr. qal, e. g. שְׁלוֹ' *š(ē)lō'(a)ḥ* = *šluha*. On the other hand the original *a* has commonly been retained before the gutturals, instead of the other short vowels. This is always the case in the imperative and future qal. In the ni^{cc}al, pi^{cc}el and hi^{cc}il it occurs so interchangeably with *ē* (originally *i*) that *ē* commonly stands in the pausa. Comp. שָׁלַח *š(ē)lah*, שִׁלַּח *yi-slāh*, שָׁלַל *šallē'(a)ḥ* together with שָׁלַל *šallāh*. The participle alone always has in the *stat. abs.* *ē*, comp. שָׁלַל *šōllē'(a)ḥ*, *stat. cstr.* שָׁלַל *šōllāh*¹, שָׁלַל *mēšallē'(a)ḥ*, *stat. cstr.* שָׁלַל *mēšallāh*. The 2. fem. perf. inserts an auxiliary vowel *a* between the final consonants (§. 55, rem.) comp. שָׁלַח *šālāh(a)t*.

§. 127. If the third radical consonant is an Alep. it loses its consonantal character at the end of a syl-

¹ *The following forms really occur שָׁלַח Ps. xciv, 9; שָׁלַח Ps. li, 15; שָׁלַח Lev. xi, 7.

lable (§. 36), which becomes open and must consequently be heightened. The heightened vowel which has thus arisen is unchangeable, e. g. 3. sing. perf. $\text{מָצָא} m\bar{a}\check{c}\acute{a} = ma\check{c}a'[a]$, fem. $\text{מָצָאָה} m\bar{a}\check{c}\acute{e}'\acute{a} = ma\check{c}a'a-t$, 2. sing. $\text{מָצָאתָ} m\bar{a}\check{c}\acute{a}-\check{t}\bar{a} = ma\check{c}a'-ta$, in intransitives $\text{יָרָה} y\bar{a}r\acute{e} = yar\bar{a}'a$, infin. $\text{מְרַחֵם} m(\check{e})\check{c}\bar{o}$. The futur. and imper. always have the vowel *a*, e. g. $\text{מְרַחֵם} m(\check{e})\check{c}\bar{a}$, futur. $\text{מְרַחֵם} yi-m\check{c}\acute{a}$, with *vav consecutivum* $\text{מְרַחֵם} ray-yi-m\check{c}\acute{a}$, 2. and 3. plur. fem. $\text{מְרַחֵמָה} ti-m\check{c}\acute{a}-n\bar{a}$. The pi^{er}el always has *i* (Hebr. \bar{e}) as its second vowel (probably for the sake of dissimilation) e. g. $\text{תִּמְמֵ} \check{t}im\bar{m}\bar{e} = \check{t}imm\bar{i}'a$, $\text{תִּמְמֵתָ} \check{t}im\bar{m}\bar{e}-\check{t}\bar{a} = \check{t}imm\bar{i}'ta$.

§. 128. The verbs *primae nun* assimilate their *n* to a following consonant except when this is a guttural. Comp. $\text{יִפּוֹל} yipp\bar{o}l = yi-np\bar{o}l$, $\text{יִגָּשׁ} yigg\bar{a}\check{s} = yi-ng\bar{a}\check{s}$, $\text{נִיגָשׁ} nig\bar{g}\bar{a}\check{s} = ni-ng\bar{a}\check{s}$, $\text{הִיגָשׁ} higg\bar{e}'\check{s} = hi-ng\bar{e}'\check{s}$, $\text{לִיגָשׁ} lugg\bar{a}\check{s} = lu-ng\bar{a}\check{s}$. The infin. cstr. and the imperative qal commonly reject the *n*, it then has the vowel *a*. The infin. commonly appears with the feminine ending *t*. Comp. imp. $\text{גָּשׁ} g\bar{a}\check{s} = ng\bar{a}\check{s}$, infin. $\text{גָּשׁ(ת)} g\bar{a}\check{s}(e)\check{t} = ng\bar{a}\check{s}-ta$, $\text{גָּא'ת} g\bar{a}'\check{t} = ng\bar{a}'ta$. The *l* of the root לָקַח is treated in the same way, fut. $\text{יִלְקַח} yi-lq\bar{a}h = yi-lq\bar{a}h$, imper. $\text{לָקַח} lq\bar{a}h = lq\bar{a}h$, infin. $\text{לָקַח(ת)} lq\bar{a}h(a)\check{t} = lq\bar{a}h-t$. The root נָטַן has in the 2. perf. $\text{נָטַן} n\bar{a}\check{t}\bar{a}\check{t}-ta = natan-ta$, fut. $\text{יִנְטֵן} yitt\bar{e}n = yi-ntin$, imp. $\text{נְטֵן} t\bar{e}n = ntin$, infin. $\text{נְטֵן} t\bar{e}\check{t} = titt = tin-t = ntin-t$.

§. 129. The irregularities of the verbs *mediae geminatae* are occasioned by the tendency of the language to unite two identical consonants in a double consonant. While therefore forms with one vowel place it so that the identical consonants may not be separated by it (hence *sabb*, *sibb*, *subb*, not *sbab*, *sbib*,

sḅub), the forms with two vowels lose the second, in order that the identical consonants may fall together (hence *sabb* instead of *sabab*). Thus arise 3. sing. perf. כַּבַּב *saḅ* = *sabba*, *sababa*, fem. כַּבַּבָּה *sábbā* = *sababa-t*, plur. כַּבַּבּוּ *sábbû* (or with the accent on the ultima *sab-bû')* = *sabab-û*. An *ô* (always accented except in the 2. plur.) is inserted before endings beginning with a consonant, which has probably arisen through the lengthening of the *a* after its transposition e. g. כַּבַּבּוֹתָ *sabbô'tā* = *sabbâta* = *sabbata* = *sabab-ta*, כַּבַּבּוֹתֶם *sabbô'tém*. In the imper., infin. and future the primitive position of the vowel after the first consonant remains, hence infin. cstr. כַּבַּב *sôḅ* = *subb[a]*, imper. כַּבַּב *sôḅ* = *subb*, fem. כַּבִּי *sôbbî*, plur. כַּבִּי *sôbbû*, plur. fem. כַּבִּינָה *subbâna*, as in the future. Nevertheless besides the form which has arisen in this way in the future יָכַבּ *yāsôḅ* = *ya-subb*, הַכַּבִּי *tā-sôbbî* = *ta-subb-î*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. הַכַּבִּינָה *təḅsub-bânā*, which is probably formed after the analogy of the verbs *tertia* *v*, *y*, with *vav consecutivum* נָכַבּ *vayyásoḅ* = *ya-subb*, there is a second form, in which the vowel originally stood after the second consonant, comp. יָכַבּ *yissôḅ* = *ya-sḅubu*, הַכַּבִּי *tissəḅî* = *ta-sḅub-î*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. הַכַּבִּינָה *tissôḅnā* = *ta-sḅub-na*. The intransitives here also have *a* in the infinitive, imperative and future, before which for the sake of dissimilation the prefix *ya* becomes *yi*, as in the regular verb. Comp. מָרַר *mar* = *marr*, fut. יִמָּרַר *yēmár* = *yi-marru*, according to the second formation יִדְּלַל *yiddál* = *yi-dlalu*. The infin. absol. כַּבַּבּוֹב *sāḅḅóḅ* and the two participles כַּבֵּב *sôḅḅóḅ* and כַּבֵּבָה *sāḅḅáḅ* are regular.

§. 130. In the *niḳ'al* the identical consonants have been united throughout; the prefix *na* retains its original vowel. Hence 3. sing. perf. נָכַבּ *nāsáḅ* = *na-sabba*, fem. נָכַבַּת *nāsábbā* = *na-sabba-t*, 2. sing. נִכְבֵּה *nəḅsab-*

bó'sā, 2. plur. נְסַבְּבִים *nəṣabbō'sém*, part. נָסַבְּ *nāsúb* = *na-sabba*, fem. נְסַבְּבָא *nəṣabbá*, imp. הִסַּבְּ *hissáb* = *hin-sabb*, infin. הִסַּבְּ *hisséb* = *hin-sibbā*, fut. יִסַּבְּ *yis-sáb* = *yin-sab* = *yu-hin-sabbu*, 2. fem. sing. תִּסַּבְּבִי *tissabbí*, 2. and 3. fem. plur. תִּסַּבְּבָנָא *tissabbānā*. The perfect and participle have become so similar to the regular 3. perf. *qal*, that sometimes by an erroneous analogy they receive *i* or *u* instead of *a* as the second vowel, comp. perf. נָקַלְתְּ *nāqél* and נָקַלְתְּ *nāqál* = *na-qalla*, נָגַלְתְּ *nāḡól* = *na-gulla*, part. נָמַסְתְּ *nā-més* = *na-missa*. The forms with *ó* in the imperative and future have probably arisen after the analogy of the stems *mediae var.* In the infinitive they could be the characteristic formation of the infin. absol. Comp. הִבְבֹּזְ *hibbóz* = *hin-bázz*.

§. 131. The *hiṣ'il* of the verbs *mediae geminatae* according to §. 33 never has an *i*, but commonly *ē*, sometimes *a*. Comp. perf. הִסַּבְּ *hēséb* = *hi-sibba*, fem. הִסַּבְּבָא *hēsébbā* = *hi-sibba-t*, also הִסַּבְּבָא *hēsábbā* = *hi-sabba-t*, 2. sing. תִּסַּבְּבִי *tīsibbó'sā*, infin. הִסַּבְּ *hāséb* = *ha-sibba*, imper. הִסַּבְּ *hāséb* = *ha-sibb*, fem. תִּסַּבְּבִי *tīsébbí*, futur. יִסַּבְּ *yāséb* = *ya-sibbu*, with *rav consec.* יִסַּבְּ *vayyáséb*, 2. fem. תִּסַּבְּבִי *tāsébbí*, 2. and 3. fem. plur. תִּסַּבְּבָנָא *tēsibbānā*, the participle prefixes singularly enough the vowel *i*, מִסַּבְּ *mēséb* = *misibba*. — The passive has הִסַּבְּ *húsáb* = *hú-sabba*, fem. הִסַּבְּבָא *húsábbā*, with an unchangeable *ú* perhaps after the analogy of the *primae var.*

§. 132. These verbs seldom form a *pi'él* and its related conjugations, but most commonly a *pó'el*, its passive *pó'al* and reflexive *hiṣpó'el*, of which the *ó* = *á* is probably to be regarded as a compensative lengthening for the doubling which has fallen out, thus avoiding the triple repetition of the same consonant. Compare יִסַּבְּבִי *sóþéþ* = *sábiba* = *sabbiba*, passive

סָבַב *sôḇáḇ* = *sábaba*, reflexive הִסְבִּיב *histôḇēḇ* = *hit-sábiba*. — Sometimes also the doubling of the entire root appears in its primitive monosyllabic form (pilpēl, pulpāl, hiḥpalpēl), e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *gilgēl* = *gil-gila*, שׁוֹפֵט *šôf(ô)šaf* = *šuf-šaf*, הִיגַלְגַּל *hiḡalgēl* = *hit-gal-gila*.

§. 133. The verbs *primae v* are divided into three classes. a) Some have *a* in the future and imperative, otherwise however they are influenced only by the universal vocal laws. Hence they have the perfect יָרַשׁ *yāraš* = *varaša*, infin. יִרַשׁ *y(ē)rōš* = *vruša*, imper. יִרַשׁ *y(ē)raš* = *vraš*, fut. יִרְשׁוּ *yīrāš* = *yīvraš* = *yi-vrašu*, niḥ'al נִרְשׁוּ *nōrāš* = *na-vraš*, fut. יִרְשׁוּ *yivvārēš* = *yu-hin-varišu*, hiḥ'al הוֹרְשׁוּ *hōšūḇ* = *ha-všiba*, fut. יוֹרְשׁוּ *yō-šūḇ*, with *vav consecutivum* יוֹרְשׁוּ *vayyō'šēḇ*, jussive יוֹרְשׁוּ *yōšēḇ*, hoḥ'al הוֹשִׁב *hūšáḇ* = *hu-všaba*. In the hiḥpa'el *v* can either remain or become *y*. b) Others which have the vowel *i* in the infinitive, imperative and future, reject the *v* before the second consonant in these forms, e. g. of יָשַׁב *yāšáḇ* = *vašaba*, imper. שֵׁב *šēḇ* = *[v]šib*, fut. יֵשֵׁב *yēšēḇ* = *yīšib* = *ya-[v]šibu*, with *vav consecutivum* יֵשֵׁב *vay-yēšēḇ*, 2. fem. תֵּשֵׁב *tēšēḇî*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תֵּשֵׁבָנָה *tēšāḇnā*. The infinitive usually has a feminine ending, comp. דָּע *dē(a)* scire = *[v]dī'a*, comp. only דָּעָה *da'(a)* = *[v]da'-ta*, שָׁבָה *šā-ḇ(e)* = *[v]šab-ta*. In like manner an imperative is formed from הָבִיט *hā-bīṭ* *ivit*, לֶךְ *lēχ*, fut. יֵלֶךְ *yēlēχ*, infin. לָךְ *lāχ(e)*, hiḥ'al הוֹלִיךְ *hólī'χ*. — In the remaining conjugations there is no discrimination between the second and first classes. c) A few verbs assimilate their *v* to the succeeding consonant, and so exactly follow the analogy of the verbs *primae nun*, e. g. יָצַת *yācát* *combussit* = *va-ḡat*, fut. יִצַּת *yiccát* = *yi-vḡat*, hiḥ'al הִצִּיטָה *hiçcī't* = *hit-ḡita*. Sometimes this formation occurs along with the other two.

§. 134. The few verbs *primae yod*: יטב *bonum esse*, ילל *ululare*, ינק *sugere*, יצר *formare*, יקץ *evigilare*, ישר *rectum esse*, are only distinguished from the *primae v* of the first formation in this that they have $\hat{e} = a-y$ instead of $\hat{o} = a-v$ in the hiç'il, e. g. הליל *hél'il ulularit* = *ha-ylila*. The future qal, as יצאר *yíçár = yi-yçaru* has with *vav consecutivum* ויצאר *vayyíçer*.

§. 135. The verbs *mediae v* have in the perfect קם *qám = qa[v]ama*, fem. קמה *qámā = qa[v]ama-t*, plur. קמו *qámū = qa[v]am-ū*, 2. sing. קמת *qám-tū = qám-ta* (§. 38) = *qa[v]am-ta* etc. The intransitive form is מה *mē = ma[v]ita*, fem. מהה *mēhā*, 2. sing. מהת *māttā*, or בוש *bōš = ba[v]uša*, fem. בושה *bōšā*, 2. sing. בושה *bōštā*. The participle has the same form as the perfect. The infin. absol. has קום *qóm = qám = qa[v]áma*, the infin. constr. קום *qúm = qumma*, in like manner the imperative, in the fem. plur. קומנה *qómna = qum-na* (§. 38). The fut. is יקום *yāqúm = yaqumu*, 2. fem. תקומי *tāqúmi*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תקומנה *tāqómna = ta-qum-na = ta-qúm-na*, also תקומנה *tēqúmānā* (§. 129 note). The apocopated future form, which even in the primitive Semitic had no final vowel, was compelled to shorten its *ú*, §. 38, hence יקום *yāqom*, with the accent upon the following word, and ויקום *vayyāqom = ya-qum = ya-qúm*. In an accented syllable the *u* which has thus arisen must of course be heightened, hence יקום *yāqóm = ya-qum*. — The intransitives have *a* in the infinitive, imperative and future, e. g. בוש *bōš = bāš = braš* (§. 32, 2), fut. יבוש *yēbōš = yi-bāš, yi-brašu*, יבו *yābō = ya-bā, ya-bra'u*. The niç'al has יקום *nāqóm = naqáma = na-qvama*, infin. and imper. יקום *hiqqóm = hin-qám = hin-qa[v]am*, fut. יקום *yiqqóm = yinqám = yu-hin-qa[v]amu*, hiç. יקום *hēqím = hiqyim = hi-qvima*, fut. יקום *yāqím = yu-ha-qvimu*,

2. fem. תִּקְרִינָה *tāqî'mî*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תִּקְרִינָה תִּקְרִינָה *tā-qîmnā* = *ta-qîm-na* = *ta-qîm-na*, partic. מִקְרִימָה *mēqî'm*, with the prefix *hi* instead of *ha*, as in the verbs *mediae geminatae*, hoφ. הִקְרַם *hûqám* after the analogy of the verbs *primae v.* In the perfect of the niφ'al and hiφ'il an *ô* occurs before the endings beginning with a consonant in the same manner as in the *med. gemin.*, comp. נִקְרַמְתָּ *nēqâmô'sā* for *nēqômô'sā*, §. 40, הִקְרַמְתָּ *hāqâmô'sā*. — Instead of the pi'el, pu'al and hišpa'el in which *vv* almost always becomes *yy*, the conjugations pa'lél, pa'lal and hišpa'lél most commonly occur, e. g. קִרְמִים *qômém* = *qarmima* = passive קִרְמָם *qômám* = *qarmama*, reflexive הִתְקַרְמִים *hišqômém* = *hit-qarmima*. Sometimes also the pilpél stands for the pi'el, e. g. כִּלְכֵּל *kilkél* = *kil-kila*.

§. 136. The verbs *mediae y* only differ in the qal from the *mediae r*. Together with the perfect בָּן *bân* = *ba[y]ana* a form בִּין *bîn*, 2. sing. בִּינֹתָ *bînó'tā* occurs. In the infin. and imp. the forms בִּינִי *bîn* = *biyn* occur, in the fut. יִבְיִן *yāβ'în* = *ya-byinu*, with *rav consecutivum* יִבְיָאֵן *rayyāβ'en*, jussive יִבֵּן *yāβ'én* = *ya-bin* = *ya-bîn* = *ya-byin*, comp. §. 38.

§. 137. In Hebrew the verbs *tertiæ rar* have become *tertiæ yod* throughout, with the single exception of the 1. person sing. perf. שָׁלַחְתִּי *šālartî*, *requievi* from the root שָׁלַח. After the rejection of the vowel consonant and the final vowel of the qal perfect the preceding *a* is heightened to *ā*, comp. גָּלָה *gālā* = *gala[ya]*, fem. originally גָּלָהָה *gālā'hā*, which form has scarcely been retained except before suffixes, = *galat* = *galât* = *galo[y]a-t*, which is otherwise almost always expanded after the false analogy of the regular verb to גָּלְתָהּ *gāl'tā*, plur. גָּלְתִּי *gāl'tî* = *gala[y]û*, 2. sing. גָּלְתָהּ *gāl'tā*.

gālî'šā = gālêšā = galay-ta etc. In the imperative, infinitive and future the vowel *a* is the only one which occurs after the 2. radical vowel; comp. the imper. $\text{גַּלְיָ} g(\ddot{e})l\acute{e} = \textit{glay}$, fem. $\text{גַּלְיָ} g(\ddot{e})li = \textit{glay-i}$, plur. $\text{גַּלְיָ} g(\ddot{e})l\acute{u} = \textit{glay-û}$, $\text{גַּלְיָ} g(\ddot{e})l\acute{u}n\bar{u} = \textit{glay-na}$, future $\text{גַּלְיָ} yil\acute{u} = \textit{ya-gla[yu]}$, 2. fem. $\text{גַּלְיָ} tiyl\acute{e} = \textit{tagla[y]i}$, 2. and 3. fem. plur. $\text{גַּלְיָ} tiyl\acute{u}n\bar{u} = \textit{taglay-na}$, in the jussive and after *vav consecutivum* $\text{גַּלְיָ} yil(e)l = \textit{yagl[a]}$, $\text{גַּלְיָ} ya'(a)s = \textit{ya-'s[a]}$, rarely like $\text{גַּלְיָ} y\bar{e}rd = \textit{yird} = \textit{ya-rd[a]}$, since these forms even in primitive Semitic had lost the third consonant and the final vowel, so that according to the Hebrew law of final sound the vowel before the third consonant must fall away. The construct infinitive generally has a feminine ending, as $\text{גַּלְיָ} g(\ddot{e})l\acute{o}š = \textit{glât} = \textit{glay}a-t$. Its masculine form occurs here exceptionally with $\acute{o} = \acute{a}$, which is otherwise only usual in the infin. absol., comp. $\text{גַּלְיָ} r(\ddot{e})\acute{o} = \textit{r\acute{a}[ya]}$. The infinitive absolute is regularly $\text{גַּלְיָ} g\bar{a}l\acute{o}' = \textit{gal\acute{a}[ya]}$, the active participle $\text{גַּלְיָ} g\acute{o}l\acute{u} = \textit{g\acute{a}l\acute{a}[ya]}$, the passive $\text{גַּלְיָ} g\bar{a}l\acute{u}y = \textit{gal\acute{u}y(a)}$.

§. 138. The same vowel changes take place in the niç'al as in the qal, the formation with Çere $\text{גַּלְיָ} niyl\acute{e}š\bar{a} = \textit{na-glay-ta}$, $\text{גַּלְיָ} niyl\acute{e}'š\bar{i} = \textit{na-glay-ti}$ is used interchangeably with $\text{גַּלְיָ} niyl\acute{e}'š\bar{a}$, $\text{גַּלְיָ} niyl\acute{e}'š\bar{i}$. The infinitive construct is $\text{גַּלְיָ} higg\bar{a}l\acute{o}'š = \textit{hin-gala[y]a-t}$, infin. absol. $\text{גַּלְיָ} higg\bar{a}l\acute{e}'$ or $\text{גַּלְיָ} niyl\acute{o}'$. The other conjugations also follow the analogy of the qal in their formation. except that the pu'al and hoç'al always, the pi"el, hiçpa"el and hiç'il sometimes retain the \acute{e} in the perfect before endings which begin with a consonant. The hiç'il has retained the original radical vowel *a* throughout in the second syllable instead of \acute{i} , hence the perfect $\text{גַּלְיָ} hiyl\acute{a} = \textit{ha-gla[yu]}$, imperative $\text{גַּלְיָ} hayl\acute{e}' = \textit{ha-glay}$, apocopated $\text{גַּלְיָ} h\bar{u}y(e)l$, infinitive $\text{גַּלְיָ} hayl\acute{o}'š = \textit{ha-gla[y]a-t}$, infin. absol. גַּלְיָ

haγlē', future הַיָּלֵךְ *yaγlā́* = *yu-ha-gla[yu]*, jussive יֵלֵךְ *yā́γ(e)l*. In the pi^{cc}ēl the infinitives are הַיָּלֵךְ *galló'ē* = *galla[y]a-t*, infin. absol. יֵלֵךְ *gallē'*, rarely הַיָּלֵךְ *galló'*, imperative יֵלֵךְ *gallē'* = *gallay*, apocopated יֵלֵךְ *gal* = *gal[la]*, future הַיָּגַלֵּךְ *yḗγallā́* = *yu-galla[yu]*, jussive יֵגַלֵּךְ *yḗgal* = *yu-gal[la]*.

§. 139. The same suffixes are appended to the verb as to the noun, except that the suffix of the first person is not *í* but *ní*. The old final vowels are of course retained before the suffixes. In the perfect *a* remains before *-ní*, is volatilized to *ē* before *-χá*, *-χém*, *-χén*, in all other cases it is heightened to *ā*. In the future and imperative the *i*, Hebrew *ē*, which has arisen from *u*, is volatilized before *-χá*, *-χém*, *-χén* to *ē*, before *-hā*, *-h*, it is exceptionally *ā*, *ā* = *a*. In the perfect the 3. fem. singular appears before the suffixes in its original form *qatāla-t*, the 2. fem. sing. as *qatā-ti*, the 2. masc. fem. plural as *qatā-tū*. In the future *tigtēlū* stands before the suffixes instead of *tigtōlnū*. In the imperative the suffixes are of course appended to the form which has the vowel after the first consonant. The same is the case in the infinitive, except sometimes before *-kā*, *-kém* and *-kén*. They can be appended to the infinitive in the same way as to the noun. The so-called connecting vowel receives the accent, and the vowel changes correspond exactly to the universal vocal laws; except that in the future and pi^{cc}ēl, according to §. 43b, the pretonic syllable is volatilized, and that *a* before *ēχá* is heightened contrary to the rule. Thus arise from *qatā́l* the forms with suffixes וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף *qḗtālání* = *qatāla-ní* *interfecit me*, $\text{וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף$ *qḗtālḗχá* *interfecit te* = *qatāla-ka*, $\text{וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף$ *qḗtālā-χ* *interfecit te fem.* = *qatāla-k*, $\text{וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף$ *qḗtālā-hū*, generally contracted וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף *qḗtāló'* *interfecit eum* = *qatāla-hū*, וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף

qəṭālāh interfecit eam = *qatala-h*, *qəṭālānū interfecit nos* = *qatala-nū*, *qəṭāləχém interfecit vos*, fem. *qəṭāləχén*, *qəṭālām interfecit eos* = *qatala-[hu]m*, fem. *qəṭālān*. The feminine appends the suffixes directly to the radical form. Thus arise *qəṭālāw-nū*, *qəṭālāw-hū* or assimilated *qəṭālāttū*, *qəṭālāttā* = *qatala-t-hā*, *qəṭālāw-nū*. An auxiliary vowel is inserted before *m*, *n*, *k*, and a half vowel after a false analogy before *kā*, *kém*, *kén*, which however has no more power to change the relations of the vowels, hence *qəṭālāw(a)m*, *qəṭālāw(a)n*, *qəṭālāw(e)χ*, *qəṭālāw(ə)χā*, *qəṭālāw(ə)χém*, *qəṭālāw(ə)χén*. The 2. masc. sing. unites the suffixes *nū*, *hū*, *h*, *nū*, *m*, *n* with *qatalta* (which of course in Hebrew becomes *qəṭaltā*). — The contracted form *qəṭaltō'* occurs along with *qəṭaltāhū*, and the unheightened form *qəṭaltānī*, along with *qəṭaltānū*. The 2. fem. sing. and the 1. sing. append the suffixes *nī*, *χū*, *χ*, *v*, *hā*, *nū*, *χém*, *χén*, *m*, *n* to *qatalti* (Hebrew *qəṭaltī'*), the 3., 2. and 1. plural append the same suffixes, except *hū* instead of *v*, to the forms *qatalū* (Hebrew *qəṭālū'*), *qatultū* (Hebrew *qəṭaltū'*) and *qatalnū* (Hebrew *qəṭalnū'*). The following forms occur in the imperative *qot(ə)lénī*, *qot(ə)léhū*, *qot(ə)lāhā* or *qot(ə)lāh*, *qot(ə)lénū*, *qot(ə)lém*, plural *qit(ə)lū'nī* etc. In the future *yiqṭəṭlē-nī*, *yiqṭəṭlē-χā*, *yiqṭəṭlē-χ*, *yiqṭəṭlē-hū*, *yiqṭəṭlā-hā* or *yiqṭəṭlā-h*, *yiqṭəṭlē-nū*, *yiqṭəṭlē-χém*, *yiqṭəṭlē-m*. As concerns the plural, the suffixes are of course appended directly to *yiqṭəṭlū'*. Instead of *tiqṭəṭlnū* the form *tiqṭəṭlū'* always appears before suffixes. The pi'el has *qittəṭlā-nī*, *qittəṭlē-χā*, *qittəṭlē-χém* etc.,

otherwise it receives the suffixes in just the same way as the *qal*.

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§. 140. In the future the suffixes can also be appended to a future form, which instead of the nominative ending *i = u* had the indefinite accusative ending *an = am*, Hebrew $\dot{a}n$. For in the verb the indefinite form can remain before the suffixes, since the verbal suffixes are accusative, while the nominal suffixes, as genitive, must always have the noun before them in the definite form of the *status constructus*. In this way have arisen the forms $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\text{-}n\dot{u}$ ¹, $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}k\text{-}k\bar{a} = ya\text{-}qtulan\text{-}ka$, $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\dot{n}\dot{u} = ya\text{-}qtulan\text{-}h\dot{u}$, $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\bar{n}\bar{u} = ya\text{-}qtulan\text{-}h\bar{a}$, $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\dot{n}\dot{u} = ya\text{-}qtulan\text{-}n\dot{u}$.²

§. 141. In the verbs *mediae geminatae* the doubling, which has fallen away at the end of the word, of course appears again before the suffixes. Compare $\text{יִשְׁדֹּדֶם} \text{ } y\ddot{s}o\ddot{d}\ddot{d}\ddot{e}\text{-}m = ya\text{-}\ddot{s}uddi\text{-}m = ya\text{-}\ddot{s}uddu\text{-}m$ from $\text{יָשֹׁדֵד} \text{ } y\bar{a}\ddot{s}\ddot{o}\ddot{d} = ya\text{-}\ddot{s}uddu$. The verbs *tertiae v, y*, as in nouns, lose their vowel endings before all suffixes, compare $\text{גַּלְעָאֵךְ} \text{ } g\bar{u}\ddot{l}\ddot{e}\ddot{x}\ddot{a} = gal(ay)a\text{-}ka$, $\text{יִגְלֵחֵךְ} \text{ } y\ddot{i}g\ddot{l}\ddot{e}h\dot{u} = ya\text{-}gl(ay)i\text{-}h\dot{u}$.

4. INFLECTION OF PARTICLES.

§. 142. Adverbs, which were originally indicated by the accusative, are now only in a few cases recognizable as such, where the accusative ending, as \bar{a} ,

¹ *Of this form there are only two examples Jer. xlix, 19, 1, 41.

² *Assimilation however does not occur in the plural, unless it be in the first person which is doubtful. See Böttcher's "Ausführl. Lehrbuch", B. II, S. 35.

ām, and *ō'm* has been retained, as in מַלְלָה *mālā supra* from מַלְלַת *ma-(a)l*, חִנָּם *hinnām gratis* from חֵן *hēn = hinn*, לַיְלָה *lāylā noctu*, יוֹמָם *yómām interdū*, from לַיְלַת *lay(i)l*, יוֹם *yóm*. — The Hebrew has developed a later adverbial formation from the fem. of the forms in *î = iyya*, comp. אֲחֹרָנִי *‘āhōrannî’ retrorsum*, especially to indicate languages, as יְהוּדִי *yěhūdî’ judaice*.

§. 143. The particles, which are more frequently used, have been very much shortened, but can almost all still be proved to be nouns from originally trilateral roots. — The particles הֵנָּה *hinnē ecce*, יֵשׁ *yēs*, before maqqeḥ יֵשׁ *yēs ‘it is’*, אַיִן *‘ay(i)n, stat. cstr. אֵינִי ‘ēn ‘it is not’*, עוֹד *‘ōd adhuc* and אַיְיָ *‘ayyā*, apocopated אַי *‘ay, stat. cstr. אֵי ‘ē*, like the verbs, take the suffixes in the accusative, whence the *n* of the indefinite form, which has arisen from *m*, comp. §. 140, can remain. Compare הִנֵּנִי *hinē-nî* (§. 27) or הִנְנִי *hinnā-n-ni*, הִנְנֶה *hinnē-ḡā*, 3. masc. הִנְנֹה *hinnō*, 1. plur. הִנְנֶה *hinnē-nū* or הִנְנֵה *hinnā-n-nū*, יֵשְׁעֶךָ *yēsēḡā*, 3. masc. sing. יֵשְׁעֹךָ *yēsēnō*, אֵינֵנִי *‘ēnā-n-nî*, אֵינְךָ *‘ēnēḡā*, אֵינְנֵה *‘ēnā-n-nū = ‘ayna-n-hā*, אֵינְנֶה *‘ēnā-n-nā = ‘ayna-n-hā*, אֵינָם *‘ēnām*, in just the same way עוֹדֵנִי *‘ōdū-n-nî* etc., אַיְיָכָה *‘ayākka = ‘ayna-n-ka*, אֵי *‘ayyō*, אַיְיָם *‘ayyām*.

§. 144. Several prepositions always appear before suffixes in the plural form, thus אַחֲרַי *‘ahār post*, comp. אַחֲרָיָה *‘ahārāḡā*, תַּחַת *tal(a) infra*, e. g. תַּחְתָּי *taktāḡā*, and בֵּין *bēn inter*, of which latter however the suffixes can be appended to the singular or feminine plural, e. g. בֵּינְךָ *bēnēḡā* or בֵּינֵיךָ *bēnāḡā* or בֵּינוֹתֵיךָ *bēnōtāḡā*. — With these must not be confounded the abbreviated prepositions אֶל *‘el to*, עַל *‘al upon*, עַד *‘ad as far as*, of which the complete forms אֶלַי *‘ēlē*, אֶלֶיךָ *‘ālē*, עַדִּי *‘ādē*

are preferred in poetry, and which contrary to the general rule, §. 106, always retain their original final radical *ay* before the suffixes and so externally have the appearance of the plural forms. Comp. אֵלַי 'ēlāy, אֵלַיִם 'ēlāyīm, אֵלֵיהֶם 'ālēhēm (according to §. 57) אֲדָאֵי 'ādāy etc. — The preposition אִתּוֹ 'im with has besides the regular אִתּוֹ 'imm-ī' also the form אִתּוֹ 'immādi', and אִתּוֹ 'immā-χēm, 'immā-hēm with a heightened instead of the usual volatilized final vowel. The prepositions תַּחַת tah(a) and אַחֲרַי b(i)ad, behind, for, between, sometimes appear with verbal suffixes, in the former even with an inserted *n*, comp. §. 143. E. g. תַּחַתְנִי tahtēni, תַּחַתְנֵי tahtā-n-nā = tahta-n-hā, אַחֲרַיִ ba-(ā)šē-nī. — The feminine particles אִתּוֹ 'ē with 'with' and the sign of the accusative, which is the same in form, were often, even in the older literature, confounded. The former however has sprung from the root אָתַּ, hence it appears with suffixes as אִתּוֹ 'itti' = 'in-t-ī, while the latter is derived from the root אָתַּ, whence the forms with suffixes are אִתּוֹ 'ōdi, אִתּוֹ 'ōdām but with the suff. of 2. plur. אִתּוֹ 'ēšēχēm.

§. 145. The much used prepositions b(i), l(i), and the conjunction k(i) have undergone the greatest abbreviation. According to §. 58 before a syllable with a half vowel the original short vowel maintains itself in the form of *i*, so that bi-y(i), li-y(i) according to §. 33 become b(i), l(i). When it stands before a compound ševā, it takes on its vocal color. When l(i) according to §. 112 enters a closed syllable, it appears before gutturals as la, before āleph as le. Of course nothing of this sort can happen to b(i) and k(i). The heightened forms bā, lā, kā have sometimes been retained in the pretonic syllable especially before the demonstrative pronoun, la has often been retained even in other cases

in the pretonic syllable. but never when the word as the first member of *stat. cstr.* has a merely secondary accent. When *ba*, *ka*, *la* stand before the pronoun *mā*, *mā*, the *m* is doubled, hence *bam-mā*, *kam-mā*, *lām-mā*, *cur?* *La* before ' *h* ' generally becomes *lā-mā*, for the sake of ensuring a distinct pronunciation, e. g. יהוה לֵאמֹר *lā-mā 'ādō-nay*. The forms with suffixes are בִּי *bi*, בָּךְ *bēχā*, בָּךְ *bāχ*, בִּי *bō*, בָּךְ *bāh*, בָּנוּ *bānū*, בָּכֶם *bāχēm*, בָּהֶם *bāhēm*, contracted בָּ *bām*, rarely הֶמְמָ *bāhēm-mā*, הֶחֶן *bāhēn*, also הֶחֶן *bahēn* or הֶחֶנָּה *bahēnnā*. *Lē* follows the same analogy. On the contrary *kē* unites most of the suffixes in the form which is compounded with the indefinite pronoun *kēmō*, *kāmō*, hence כָּמוֹ-נִי *kāmō'-nī*, כָּמוֹ-חָא *kā-mō'-χā*, כָּמוֹ-חֵה *kā-mō'-hū*, כָּמוֹ-חָה *kā-mō'-hā*, כָּמוֹ-נִי *kā-mō'-nū*, כָּמוֹ-חֵם *kē-mō-χēm* together with the more frequent כָּחֵם *kāχēm*, כָּמוֹ-חֵם *kē-mō-hēm*, together with כָּחֵם *kā-hēm*, כָּחֵנָּה *kā-hēnnā*. In poetry בָּ-מֹ *bē-mō*, לָ-מֹ *lē-mō* occur, although not before suffixes. — The conjunction *vē* is often heightened before the accented syllable. in *pausa*, and between closely connected notions¹, to *vā*, before compound *šēwa* it takes on the color of the same, before half vowels as well as before labials it becomes *ú*, it blends with following *yē* to *vī*, before the *futur. conversivum* it becomes *va* with the doubling of the following consonant, or *vā* as a recompense for the doubling.

¹ *E. g. Ps. x, 6 לֵדְדֹר וְאֵדְדֹר *lēđōr vāđōr*; Gen. i, 2 וְבִרְהוֹתָ עֹשֶׂה *vābīr'ho-tā 'ōšē*; Deut. iv, 28 וְיָצֵא עַד עַד *vā'ēzen*; Gen. viii, 3 וְיָצֵא עַד עַד *vā'ēzen*. Comp. Böttcher's Lehrbuch, Band I, §. 600 and as regards the influence of the separative or unitive accent Delitzsch's Commentary to Ps. lv, 10.

V.

SYNTAX.

§. 146. Since the ancient case-endings have fallen away, the genitive relation is only externally recognizable through the vocal changes, which the governing word undergoes by reason of its close connection with the following word in the *stat. constr.* This relation is indicated in the masc. plur. by the falling away of the indefinite affix *m*. The word which stands in the *stat. constr.* does not receive the article, because as such its form is already definite, hence the article is only placed before the governed word. Comp. $\text{הַמִּלְחָמָה הַקְּבוּלָה}$ 'āḥ(e)δ *hammāl(e)χ* 'the servant of the king'. Of course nouns with suffixes always have a definite signification.

§. 147. The adjective is placed after the noun and the article is repeated before it, e. g. $\text{הַשֶּׁרֶשֶׁת הַהַגְּדוֹל הַחֹק}$ *haš-šó'r haq-gāđó'l taurus magnus*. — The comparative degree is expressed by מִן *min*, which follows the positive and is prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. $\text{מִן־דְּעָפֵס מֵדֶשֶׁת}$ *mašó'q mid-dēṣaš dulcior melle*.

§. 148. The accusative ending has been retained only to a very limited extent in the accusative of the direction. Otherwise this case is only indicated in

nouns, which are rendered definite by the article, personal affixes or the *stat. estr.*, by placing הַשְׁמַיִם 'ēš, or when accented הַשְׁמַיִם 'ēš before it, e. g. $\text{הַשְׁמַיִם הַשְׁמַיִם}$ 'ēš *haš-šāmōy(i)m coelos*.

§. 149. The relative 'āšer often simply indicates the relation which is then more exactly defined by a following suffix or adverb, e. g. בְּאֵרֶץ זָרָה 'āšer *zar'ō' zō*, *arbor in qua est semen ipsius*. It can also fall away, particularly in the poetical style.

§. 150. As has already been remarked the masculine form of the numbers from 3—10 are construed with the feminine and vice versa. One is treated as an ordinary adjective. The numerals from 2—10 on the contrary stand before the object numbered in the *stat. estr.* or *absolutus*. In later books, and more rarely, they are also placed after it. The tens, 20—90 always stand in the *stat. abs.* either before or after the thing numbered; in the former case that which is numbered can be put in the singular. With numbers compounded of units and tens the object numbered is either placed after each numeral, according to the rules of each, or it is put after the tens in the singular, although in the later books it is also placed before the units in the plural. — There are no proper ordinal numbers for the numerals above ten. — Distributives are indicated by the doubling of the number.

§. 151. With reference to the use of the tenses it should be observed, that the first tense, the perfect, expresses 1) the past and completed, even when it extends to the present, 2) the certainty of an assurance, and 3) that which we express through the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. The second tense,

the so-called future, indicates 1) the future, 2) the present especially as an expression of permanent conditions, 3) sometimes even the past, when it expresses like the Latin imperfect, a continuous action, 4) our present, and sometimes 5) imperfect subjunctive. Moreover it is placed after the particles אָז 'āz *tunc* and אַרְעֵם 'ār(e)m *nondum*.

§. 152. If a chain of thought has been begun in the future or imperative, it is continued in the perfect with the conjunction וְגַם and the moving forward of the accent, which then receives exactly the signification of the preceding future or imperative. On the other hand if a narrative begins with the perfect, it is continued in the apocopated form of the future with וְאֵל , and so that the following consonant is doubled, and the accent drawn back, if possible.

§. 153. Besides this case, the apocopated form of the future, the so-called jussive, scarcely ever occurs except in the 2. and 3. person to express a wish, a command or prohibition; the jussive is always used to express a prohibition, but never the imperative which can neither be connected with אֲנִי or אָנֹכִי . — The lengthened future form, cohortative, with final אֵל stands in the first person to indicate a request or an exhortation.

§. 154. The infinitive absolute is freely connected with the finite verb from the same stem. It generally precedes to strengthen the idea contained in the verb; while it follows in order to express the continuance of the action. Otherwise the infin. absol. sometimes stands as an accusative, or for the finite verb, but always in a verbal construction, hence never after prepositions or a *stat. estr.* On the contrary the infinitive

cstr. can not only govern the accusative, as a verb, but also the genitive as a noun, hence it connects itself with verbal and nominal suffixes. The subject of the action very often stands in the nominative after the infin. cstr. Through the prefixing of the prepositions *bě*, *kě* and *lě* before the infin. cstr. various subordinate sentences are formed.

§. 155. Interrogative sentences are expressed through *hǎ*, which has arisen from *hal*, before consonants with a half vowel *ha*, generally effecting the doubling of the following consonants. before gutturals *ha*, before gutturals with Qameç according to §. 29 *hā*. Indirect questions are expressed through *im*, and disjunctive questions through *hǎ* in the first and *'im* in the second member.

EXERCISE IN PROSE READING.

Gen. i, 1—5.

vĕ-'ēš haš-šāmáy(i)m 'ēš 'ēlôhî'm bārâ Bĕ-rēšî'š
 וְאֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֵת אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא בְּרֵאשִׁית
 vĕ-hōš(e)χ vū-βōhû šōhû hūyĕš'û Vĕ-hū-'ār(e)ς hā-'ār(e)ς.
 וְהָאָרֶץ : וְהָאָרֶץ הַיְיָתָה תִהְיֶה וְכֵהוּ וְהָאָרֶץ
 'al pĕnē mĕrahā'φ(e)š 'ēlôhî'm vĕ-rú(a)h šĕhóm 'al pĕnē
 עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי
 va-yĕhî 'ór. yĕhî 'ór! 'ēlôhî'm: Vay-yó mer ham-máy(i)m.
 הַמַּיִם : וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי-אוֹר וַיְהִי-אוֹר
 bĕn 'ēlôhî'm vay-yaβdél kí tōβ 'ēš hā-'ór 'ēlôhî'm Vay-yar
 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאוֹר כִּי-טוֹב וַיְבַרֵּךְ אֱלֹהִים בֵּין
 yóm l-ā-'ór 'ēlôhî'm Vay-yiqrá ha-hōš(e)χ. ū-lĕn hā-ór
 הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ : וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם
 βōq(e)r va-yĕhî va-yĕhî 'ār(e)β lāylā qārū vĕ-l-a-hōš(e)χ
 וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַיְלָה וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר
 'āhād. yóm
 יוֹם אֶחָד ,

EXERCISE IN POETICAL READING.

Ps. ii.

góy' m rārĕš'û' Lám-mā
 לָמָּה רָגַזְתָּ גוֹיִם
 ? riq yehgú' ū-lĕ'ummî'n
 אֲלֵאמִים יְהִנּוּ-רִיק :
 'ār(e)ς mal(e)χ' Yīšyaççĕβū'
 יִתְעַצְבוּ | מַלְכֵי-אֲרָרִין

yáhad nôsšédú vĕ-rôzĕni'm
 וְרוֹזְנִים נֹשְׁדוּ יַחַד
mĕšihó' vĕ-'al Yahrâ 'al
 עַל-יְהוָה וְעַל-מְשִׁיחוֹ :
môsšerôš'émó 'ēš Nĕnattĕqá
 נִנְתְּקָה אֶת-מוֹסְרֹתֵינוּ
'āpōš'émó! mimmānnú vĕ-našl'ĕhā
 וְנִשְׁלַחַה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵינוּ :

yishāq b-aš-šāmāy(i)m Yôšēš
 יִשְׁחַק בַּשָּׁמַיִם יוֹשֵׁב
lāmó. yil'ár 'ādónāy
 אֲדֹנָי יִלְעַג-לָמוֹ :
bĕ-'appó' 'el'émó yĕšabbēr 'Az
 אֵז יְדַבֵּר אֵלֵינוּ בְּאֵפוֹ
yĕšahălémó. ū-ba-hărônó'
 וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלָמוֹ :
malk' nāsáxti 'A-'āni
 וְאֲנִי נֹסֵבְתִי מִלְּבִי
qodsí! hār Ćiygô'n 'al
 עַל-צִיּוֹן הַר-קֹדְשִׁי :

hōq: 'el Āsappĕrâ
 אֲסַפְּרָה אֶל-הֶקֶד
'attá! bĕni 'eláy: 'āmár Yahrâ
 יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנֵי אֶתְנָה
yĕlīdt'ĕhā. hay-yôm 'āni
 אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדְּתִיךָ :

nah(ā)lā-āḡā gôyî'm vë-'ettēnā mimmännî Š(ē)'al
 נַחֲלָאֵל גּוֹיִם וְאֶתְנָה מִמֵּנִי שְׂאֵל
 'ār(e)ḡ. 'aḡ(ē)sē va-'āhuzzā-šēḡā
 אַפְסֵי-אַרְץ: וְאֶחָדָהּ

barzāl bē-sēβ(e)t Tērō'ēm
 הַרְעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בְּרוֹל
 tēnappēḡēm. yôḡēr ki-ḡēlî
 כְּבָלֵי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפְּצֵם:

haškî'lû mēlāḡî'm Vē-'attā
 וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׁבִּילוּ
 'ār(e)ḡ! šôḡēṭē' hivrūsērû
 הַיּוֹסְרוּ שְׂפֵטֵי אַרְץ:
 bē-yir'ā Yahrā 'eš 'Iβ(ē)dū'
 עֲבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בִּירְאָה
 bi-rē'ūdā! vē-gî'lû
 וְגִילוּ בְרַעְדָּה:

šār(e)ḡ vē-šôḡēḡdū' ye'(ē)nāḡ pen bar Naššēḡū'
 וְתִאֲבְדוּ דְרָךְ וְנִשְׁקוּ-בַר פֶּן־יֵאָנֶה וְ
 'appô'. ki-mē'at yiβ'ár ki
 כִּי־יִבְעַר בְּמַעַט אֶפּוֹ
 βó. ḡōsē' kol 'ašē'rē'
 אֲשֵׁרֵי כָל־הַיּוֹסִי בּוֹ:

THE REGULAR VERB.

Perf. 3. m. <i>qāṭal</i> (in pausa <i>qāṭal</i>)	<i>šālēm</i>	<i>qāṭōn</i>
3. f. <i>qāṭēlā</i> (p. <i>qāṭālā</i>)	<i>šālēmā</i> (p. <i>šālēmā</i>)	<i>qāṭēnā</i> (p. <i>qāṭōnā</i>)
2. m. <i>qāṭāl-tū</i> (p. <i>qāṭāl-tū</i>)	<i>šālām-tū</i> (p. <i>šālām-tū</i>)	<i>qāṭōn-tū</i> (w. v. cons. <i>və-qāṭōn-tū</i>)
2. f. <i>qāṭāl-t</i> (<i>qāṭāl-t</i>), p. <i>qāṭāl-t</i>	<i>šālām-t</i> (p. <i>šālām-t</i>)	<i>qāṭōn-t</i>
1. <i>qāṭāl-tī</i> (p. <i>qāṭāl-tī</i>)	<i>šālām-tī</i> (p. <i>šālām-tī</i>)	<i>qāṭōn-tī</i> (<i>və-qāṭōn-tī</i>)
3. pl. <i>qāṭēl-ū'</i> (p. <i>qāṭālū</i>)	<i>šālēm-ū'</i> (p. <i>šālēmū</i>)	<i>qāṭēn-ū'</i> (p. <i>qāṭōn-ū'</i>)
2. m. <i>qṭāṭal-tēm</i>	<i>šṭāam-tēm</i>	<i>qṭōn-tēm</i>
2. f. <i>qṭāṭal-tén</i>	<i>šṭāam-tén</i>	<i>qṭōn-tén</i>
1. <i>qāṭāl-nu</i> (p. <i>qāṭāl-nū</i>)	<i>šālām-nu</i> (p. <i>šālām-nū</i>)	<i>qāṭōn-nū</i>
Imper. 2. m. <i>q(ṭ)ṭāl</i>	<i>š(ṭ)āam</i> (p. <i>š(ṭ)āam</i>)	Does not occur.
2. f. <i>qit(ṭ)l-ē'</i> (<i>qot(ṭ)l-ē'</i>)	<i>šil(ṭ)m-ē'</i>	
2. pl. m. <i>qit(ṭ)l-ū'</i> (<i>qot(ṭ)l-ū'</i>)	<i>šil(ṭ)m-ū'</i>	
2. pl. f. <i>q(ṭ)ṭol-nū</i>	<i>š(ṭ)lām-nū</i> (p. <i>š(ṭ)lām-nū</i>)	
Imper. parag. <i>qot(ṭ)lā</i> (<i>qit(ṭ)lā</i> , in pausa <i>q(ṭ)ṭolā</i>)		

Fut. 3. m.	<i>yi-qtól</i>	<i>yi-slám</i> (p. <i>yi-slám</i>)	<i>yi-qtán</i>
3. f.	<i>ti-qtól</i>	<i>ti-slám</i>	<i>ti-qtán</i>
2. m.	<i>ti-qtól</i> <i>ti-qtól-i</i>	<i>ti-slám</i>	<i>ti-qtán</i>
2. f.	<i>ti-qtól-í</i> (<i>ti-qtól-ín</i> , p. ['] <i>e-qtól</i>)	<i>ti-slám-í</i> (p. <i>ti-slám-i</i>)	<i>ti-qtól-í</i>
1.	['] <i>e-qtól</i>	['] <i>e-slám</i>	['] <i>e-qtán</i>
3. pl. m.	<i>yi-qtól-ú</i> (p. <i>yi-qtól-ú</i>)	<i>yi-slám-ú</i> (p. <i>yi-slám-ú</i>)	<i>yi-qtól-ú</i>
3. f.	<i>ti-qtól-nā</i> (<i>ti-qtól-nā</i>)	<i>ti-slám-nā</i> (p. <i>ti-slám-nā</i>)	<i>ti-qtól-nā</i>
2. m.	<i>ti-qtól-ú</i> (p. <i>ti-qtól-ú</i>)	<i>ti-slám-ú</i> (p. <i>ti-slám-ú</i>)	<i>ti-qtól-ú</i>
2. f.	<i>ti-qtól-nā</i>	<i>ti-slám-nā</i>	<i>ti-qtól-nā</i>
1.	<i>ni-qtól</i>	<i>ni-slám</i>	<i>ni-qtán</i>
Fut. parag.			
1. sg.	['] <i>e-qtólá</i> (p. ['] <i>e-qtólā</i>)		
1. pl.	<i>ni-qtólā</i> (p. <i>ni-qtólā</i>)		
Infín. estr.	<i>q(č)ól</i>	<i>š(č)óm</i> (<i>š(č)óm</i>)	<i>q(č)ón</i>
Infín. abs.	<i>qától</i>	<i>šátóm</i>	<i>qátón</i>
Part. act.	<i>qótél</i>	<i>šálem</i>	<i>qátón</i>
Part. pass.	<i>qátál</i>	<i>šálem</i>	<i>qátón</i>

P ^l ĒL.	P ^u ĀL.	HĪPĀĒL.
Perf. 3. m. <i>qūtāl</i> (<i>qūtāl</i>) 3. f. <i>qūtēlā</i> (p. <i>qūtēlā</i>) 2. m. <i>qūtāl-tā</i> (p. <i>qūtāl-tā</i>) 2. f. <i>qūtāl-t</i> 1. <i>qūtāl-tī</i> 3. pl. <i>qūtēlā</i> (p. <i>qūtēl-ā</i>) 2. m. <i>qūtālēm</i> 2. f. <i>qūtāl-tén</i> 1. <i>qūtāl-nā</i>	<i>qūtāl</i> <i>qūtēlā</i> (p. <i>qūtālā</i>) <i>qūtāl-tā</i> (p. <i>qūtāl-tā</i>) <i>qūtāl-t</i> <i>qūtāl-tī</i> <i>qūtēlā</i> (p. <i>qūtālā</i>) <i>qūtālēm</i> <i>qūtāl-tén</i> <i>qūtāl-nā</i>	<i>hēs-qūtāl</i> (<i>hēs-qūtāl</i>) <i>hēs-qūtēlā</i> (p. <i>hēs-qūtēlā</i>) <i>hēs-qūtāl-tā</i> <i>hēs-qūtāl-t</i> <i>hēs-qūtāl-tī</i> <i>hēs-qūtēl-ā</i> <i>hēs-qūtāl-tēm</i> <i>hēs-qūtāl-tén</i> <i>hēs-qūtāl-nā</i>
Imper. 2. m. <i>qūtāl</i> 2. f. <i>qūtēl-t</i> (p. <i>qūtēl-tī</i>) 2. pl. m. <i>qūtēl-ū</i> (p. <i>qūtēl-ū</i>) 2. pl. f. <i>qūtēlnā</i>		<i>hēs-qūtāl</i> <i>hēs-qūtēl-t</i> <i>hēs-qūtēl-ū</i> <i>hēs-qūtēl-nā</i>
Imper. parag. <i>qūtēlā</i>		

<p>Fut. 3. m. <i>yĕ-qattĕl</i> 3. f. <i>tĕ-qattĕl</i> 2. m. <i>tĕ-qattĕl</i> 2. f. <i>tĕ-qattĕl-ĕ</i> (p. <i>tĕ-qattĕl-ĕ</i>) 1. <i>'ā-qattĕl</i> 3. pl. m. <i>yĕ-qattĕl-ū</i> (p. <i>ye-yat-tĕl-ū</i>) 3. f. <i>tĕ-qattĕl-nā</i> 2. m. <i>tĕ-qattĕl-ū</i> 2. f. <i>tĕ-qattĕl-nā</i> 1. <i>nĕ-qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>yĕ-qattĕl</i> <i>tĕ-qattĕl</i> <i>tĕ-qattĕl</i> <i>tĕ-qattĕl-ĕ</i> <i>'ā-qattĕl</i> <i>yĕ-qattĕl-ū</i> (p. <i>yĕ-qattĕl-ū</i>) <i>tĕ-qattĕl-nā</i> <i>tĕ-qattĕl-ū</i> <i>tĕ-qattĕl-nā</i> <i>nĕ-qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>y-ĕṣ-qattĕl</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl-ĕ</i> <i>'-eṣ-qattĕl</i> <i>y-ĕṣ-qattĕl-ū</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl-nā</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl-ū</i> <i>t-ĕṣ-qattĕl-nā</i> <i>n-ĕṣ-qattĕl</i></p>
<p>Fut. parag. 1. sg. <i>'ā-qattĕlā</i> (p. <i>'ā-qattĕlā</i>) 1. pl. <i>nĕ-qattĕlā</i></p>		
<p>Infim. estr. <i>qattĕl</i> (<i>qattĕl</i>)</p>	<p><i>qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>hĕṣ-qattĕl</i></p>
<p>Infim. abs. <i>qattĕl</i> (<i>qattĕl</i>)</p>	<p><i>qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>hĕṣ-qattĕl</i></p>
<p>Partic. <i>nĕ-qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>nĕ-qattĕl</i></p>	<p><i>m-ĕṣ-qattĕl</i></p>

ИИΨ ¹ Л.	ИОФ ¹ АЛ.	НИФ ¹ АЛ.
Perf. 3. m. <i>hi-qt'el</i> 3. f. <i>hi-qt'elā</i> 2. m. <i>hi-qt'ál-tā</i> 2. f. <i>hi-qt'ál-t</i> 1. <i>hi-qt'ál-tī</i> 3. pl. <i>hi-qt'él-ū</i> 2. m. <i>hi-qt'ál-tém</i> 2. f. <i>hi-qt'ál-tén</i> 1. <i>hi-qt'ál-nū</i>	<i>ho-qt'ál (hu-qt'ál)</i> <i>ho-qt'élā (p. ho-qt'álā)</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tā</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-t</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tī</i> <i>ho-qt'él-ū</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tém</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tén</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-nū</i>	<i>ni-qt'ál</i> <i>ni-qt'élā</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tā</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-t</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tī</i> <i>ni-qt'él-ū</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tém</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tén</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-nū</i>
Imper. 2. sg. <i>ha-qt'el.</i> 2. f. <i>ha-qt'él-ī</i> 2. pl. m. <i>ha-qt'él-ū</i> 2. pl. f. <i>ha-qt'él-nā</i>	<i>ho-qt'ál</i>	<i>hiq-qāt'el</i> <i>hiq-qāt'él-ī</i> <i>hiq-qāt'él-ū</i> <i>hiq-qāt'él-nā</i>
Imper. parag. <i>ha-qt'élā</i>	<i>ho-qt'élā</i>	

Fut. 3. pl.	<i>y-a-qt'il</i>	<i>y-o-qt'il</i> (<i>y-u-qt'il</i>)	<i>y-iq-qāt'il</i> (P. <i>yiqqāt'il</i>)
3. f.	<i>t-a-qt'il</i>	<i>t-o-qt'il</i>	<i>t-iq-qāt'il</i>
2. m.	<i>t-a-qt'il</i>	<i>t-o-qt'il</i>	<i>t-iq-qāt'il</i>
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Infim. abs.	<i>ha-qt'il</i>	<i>ho-qt'il</i>	<i>hiq-qāt'il</i> (<i>nī-qt'il</i> , <i>hiq-qāt'il</i>)
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 תְּמַנְמָן 144.
 תְּמַנְמָן 144.
 תְּמַנְמָן 21.
 תְּמַנְמָן 36.
 תְּמַנְמָן 35.
 תְּמַנְמָן 129.
 תְּמַנְמָן 130.
 תְּמַנְמָן 135.
 תְּמַנְמָן 135.
 תְּמַנְמָן 135.
 תְּמַנְמָן 122.
 תְּמַנְמָן 6. 35. 128.
 תְּמַנְמָן 128.

NOTE.

The author offers the following explanation of his motto in § 42.¹

In the Indo-Germanic languages the heightening, well called *Guna* by the Indian grammarians, consists in prefixing *a* to an accented vowel, especially in open syllables, in order that the vowel may receive a fuller sound; hence *a*, *i*, *u* become by heightening *á*, *ai*, *au*. That the same process has taken place in modern English and German appears, when we compare motto with old or middle-high German, and written with spoken English. In both cases we find a tendency to lengthen vowels in open accented syllables, and to give the letters *i* and *u* the sound *ai* and *au* (and in English of *iu*).

CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

- 8, ninth line below read 'Olshausen'.
 31, sixth line below read רָוָא *rāvā*.
 35, fourth line above read מְלִיכָה.
 37, sixteenth line above read נִיקָם.
 38, eighth line below read הַצִּיּוֹן *h'c̣y-yō' n*.
 39, sixth line below read 'forms'.
 47, eighth line above read תְּשֻׁבָה.
 91, tenth line below read תְּרַחֲמֵהּ.
 112, second line below read מְלִיכָה.

